

**Oleksandr Lukyanenko**



**MYTHS AND LEGENDS  
OF DE-STALINIZATION**

THE DEBRIS OF EVERYDAY PERCEPTION OF POLITICIANS  
IN THE MINDS OF EDUCATORS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1953–1964

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The author conducted a comprehensive study of the everyday life of the higher pedagogical schools’ staffs in 1953-1964 on the basis of a wide range of published literature and archival documents. The thesis solves issue of the evolution of the evaluation of the figures of J. Stalin, L. Beria, G. Zhukov, G. Malenkov, V. Molotov and L. Kaganovich as well the perception of CPSU itself.

*The paper is written within the research work “Regional dimension of the everyday culture of Ukraine of XVIII-XX centuries” of the Department of Cultural Studies of PNP.*

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**to Mrs. Alla Kyrydon,**  
the one who insured me on the path of History once met in 2001

and

**to Mr. Petro Kyrydon,**  
whose intellectual depth and fatherly wisdom  
has been keeping me in the flow of science  
already for eleven years

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

APNPU	Arkhiv Poltavs'koho natsional'noho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni V. H. Korolenka [Archiv of Poltava National Pedagogical University]
ark.	'arkush' – archive file sheet
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
CC	Central Committee
CC CP(b)U	Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine
CM	Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
CPC	Council of People's Commissars
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine
DACHO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Cherkas'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Cherkasy Oblast]
JASO	Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford
DAK	Derzhavnyy arkhiv mista Kyyeva [State Archive of Kyiv]
DAKhO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kharkivs'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Kharkiv Oblast]
DAKO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kyyivs'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Kyiv Oblast]
DAPO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Poltavs'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Poltava Oblast]
DASO	Derzhavnyy arkhiv Sums'koyi oblasti [State Archive of Sumy Oblast]
DE	Department of education
f.	'fond' – archive fund
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti = Committee for State Security
Komsomol	All-Union Leninist Young Communist League
MHE	Ministry of higher and secondary vocational education of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Ministry	Ministry of education of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

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NASU	National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
op.	‘opys’ – archive series
RSFSR	The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
Society “Knowledge”	Society of Spreading the Scientific and Political Knowledge
SPI	State Pedagogical Institute
SPIFL	State Pedagogical Institute of the foreign languages
spr.	‘sprava’ – archive file
SR	Supreme Rada (Verkhovna Rada)
SSR	The Soviet Socialist Republic
UkrSSR	The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
TsDAHO	Tsentral’nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv hromads’kykh ob'yednan’ Ukrayiny [Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine]
TsDAVO	Tsentral’nyy derzhavnyy arkhiv vyshchyykh orhaniv vlady i upravlinnya Ukrayiny [Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies and Government of Ukraine]
z/v.	‘zaochnyy viddil’ – extramural department
zv	‘zvorot’ – the flip side of the archival sheet

# 1

## Introduction

Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014 has been trying to live in the world rulled by the de-Communization laws. The fall of the monuments to Lenin all over the country, the process of re-naming cities and villages and campaign of re-vising school-books make up only exterior of the changes taking place in the consciousness of the country. In the same time, Ukraine is going through the war with Russia hidden behind the diplomatic mantras from the Kremlin “Nas tam net” (“We aren’t there”). The annexion of the Crimean peninsula and the anti-Ukrainian hysteria in the Esatern regions of Donetsk and Luhansk in most cases was fueled with the Soviet nostalgia. The meetings were accompanied by the concerts with old Soviet songs, the crowdes were encouraged by the anti-Nazi slogans of World War II.



*Picture 01. The Manifestation in Sevastopol in March of 2015 – one of the greatest examples of the Soviet nostalgia of the Ukrainians feeling themselves “at home” in V.Putin’s Russia that stuck between democratic reforms and wish to be great empire once more*

Having seized the power, pro-Russian quazi-republics decorated their streets with Stalin's portraits, reanimated the tradition of pioneer movement and organized parades dedicated to the old Soviet holidays. What moved the ordinary people in their choice of support of those actions? In some part, we believe, that was a heritage of the unfinished de-Stalinization of the consciousness. Once debunked, J. Stalin gained his throne one more time during L.Brezhnev's rule and after that in V.Putin's idea of "the perfect crisis manager". The same role was played by the status of World War II, or, as it is still known in the circles of pan-Russian world, the Great Patriotic war. People were mesmerized by the slogan "Dedy voyevali!" ("Granfathers fought!") and the cult of "fascist-fighters" in the face of marshals and rankers. When the number of living members of that war came almost to zero, the propaganda created the new icon – the immortal regiment – walking in the streets with the portraits of anyone who took part in the opposition. This wasn't something new. Current Russian propaganda uses old-fashioned totalitarian methods in manipulating mass consciousness having modernized only ways of delivering the information to the consumers.

I am confident that knowing the manner in which the Soviet regime influenced the people in the past can help in curing the deep wounds of the modern Ukrainian political and social life.

## CONTENTS

The book is composed of seven chapters in addition to the introduction. In the first two the theoretical base of the research is described. Chapter 2 analyses the methodology of the work. Twenty five key questions covering author's theoretical reflections during the molding of the paper are explored. The first paragraph explains the topicality of the book making accents on different levels of scientific interest in the problem. The chapter interprets the subject of the study, expounds the choice of political consciousness as a main problem of the book and justifies Poltava SPI as an exemplary object of the research. Other paragraphs deal with the problem of time and space correlation. They set the field of the action and the time-scale for the events described. These parts give the alternative variants of chronology of that period in the Ukrainian history. The block explains the interference of the state and collectives of educators from the standpoint of the theory of the political system by David Easton.

Much space is dedicated to the formation of so-called "need-to-do list" of the research which is, frankly speaking, a elucidation of the approaches used by the

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author and not welcomed very much in the circle of the “old-school” Ukrainian historians. The chapter presents the description of sources of the research according to the semantic approach. The last paragraphs are dedicated to the explanation of the methods used during the study correlating them with the ones from the world of anthropology, psychology, politology and etc.

Chapter 3 covers the content of the specific Communist world-view compared to the religious cult. It offers the look at the political consciousness of the Soviet citizens as at the “true doctrine” with the explanation of the divided world of “them” and “us”, describes the feeling of “choosiness and uniqueness”, states the role of “a collective spirit” in the society.

Chapters 4-8 present the evolution of the attitude of the Soviet educators towards different political figures of the epoch of de-Stalinization. The system of technologies of the state influence on peoples’ mind and the conditions in which the new images of the statesmen were created are revealed. The first block is dedicated to the chief of the State security and secret police of the USSR Lavrenty Beria. The paragraph shows the movement of L. Beria from the shadow of J. Stalin’s authority to the top of the political Olympus. It states the weakness of the official’s position influenced by his “information self-isolation” and preservation of the image of a faithful friend of Stalin in the minds of the educators.

The chapter describes the changes that took place after the arrest to the execution of a government official from July to December 1953. It forms the vision of the mediated criticism of L. Beria by educators connected with the criticism of the cult of personality emerging the state. Looking at the period of 1954-1964, which lasted after the execution of the minister, the book describes the posthumous image of the politician in the minds of the educators formed by a long artificial informational isolation of the problem and a simultaneous periodic revision of the documentation of the universities in order to remove the mention of L. Beria. It depicts frequent appeals in lecture courses to the figure of L. Beria as the culprit of troubles in the USSR.

Chapter 5 investigates the attitude of educators to the figures of G.Malenkov, L.Kaganovich and V.Molotov – the members of the so-called “Antiparty group”. It shows certain differences in the interpretation of the role of politicians during 1953 – June 1957, related to the activities of government officials. The paragraph states that during July 1957 – 1964 the educators formed the unified vision of the politicians as a real inseparable group accepting the negative interpretation of the role of politicians in the country’s life, resentment in their actions, and the neglect

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of the positive experience of government officials. The work showed that teachers charged the members of the “Anti-party group” in many problems of the country, combining their image with the figure of L. Beria and trying to revive the positive image of J. Stalin at the expense of critics of the officials.

The evolution of G. Zhukov’s depiction in the minds of the collectives of the pedagogical universities of the UkrSSR is shown in Chapter 6. It gives the understanding of marshal as a second after Stalin brilliant strategist and military leader rooted in the society from 1953 to November 1957. The paragraph illustrates that after the death of the “leader of the peoples”, there was a gradual movement of Zhukov from the shadow of the Stalinist genius, which formed the image of the Minister as “the son of the people” and “the savior of the unity of the party” in the case of the “Anti-party group”, found little interest in the problem of “the cult of Zhukov” among educators during November-December of 1957.

It is explained by the fact that the attention of the collectives of the SPIs was scattered with pre-holiday preparations for the anniversary of the revolution. The paper states that party meetings showed standardized criticism of the politician with the limited conveyance of opinions, the formation of a new negative attitude to G.Zhukov mainly on the basis of personal memories of educators about their service in the army. The paragraph describes the creation of the portrait of G. Zhukov as a culprit of the country’s long-standing and recent problems and of the losses in the war.

Chapter 7 presents a survey of the changes of the image of J. Stalin in the consciousness of the collectives of pedagogical universities of the UkrSSR. It justifies that during 1953 - February 1956 dominated the portrait of J. Stalin as a father, friend and teacher, and the ideologization and dogmatization of the perception of the leader’s statements continued. It is shown that an important role in supporting the daily positive image of Stalin was played by the growing sense of the tragedy of loss, which grew into deification, although indirect criticism of the cult of person. The paragraph demonstrates that from February 20, 1956 to October 1961, individual teachers resorted to self-condemnation of the incarnation of worship. It explains that by the end of 1964, J.Stalin’s critique had become a routine in educational programs and speeches. The work argues that the practice of comparing two epochs – Stalin’s and Khrushchev’s – was widespread: in contrast to the cult of Stalin, educators began to seek alternative ideals: from the image of “true Leninist” M. Khrushchev to the “true communist” F. Castro. The block shows that there was exhaustion by the constant criticism of the leader.

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The last chapter contains the information on the attitude towards the CPSU. It studies the effect of changes in the explanation of the place of the Communist Party in the lives of people. The paragraph states the influence of Stalin's personality cult onto the perception of the Party, explaining the gradual taking off "Stalinist" garments by the CPSU after the death of the dictator. The research explains the process of taking over his functions and characteristics of a leader, a mastermind, a military victor, a teacher and an educator of generations by the CPSU becoming a new object to pledge of one's loyalty and fidelity in the official situations.

## 2

### **Theoretical And Methodological Reflections**

Academic science requires its adherents to summarize all fundamental principles in the beginning of any exploration: from explanation of relevance to the description of the methods used in the research. However, the ordinary reader of the historical book will eventually get dull looking through the same type of the first chapters of books and nearly identical sections of the theses. In Ukrainian writing practice, their uniformity partly wanders from work to work, actually showing not only the capacity for scientific thinking, but the development of “fine motor skills of hands” to paste and copy the standard phrases. Like it or not, historiographical exploration are often created after the successful using of “scissors and glue” with the “methodologically correct” replacement of the names of scientific works and their authors in someone else’s text, but not the skill of analysis.

The appearance of these “reflections” can be explained with the words of Dr Stephen Lyon from Durham University, the authors of the so-called ‘open’ ethnography saying that the errors and problems of others give us valuable examples for taking after<sup>1</sup>. The scientist has to explain the way of his thoughts for others to follow him or not in further search. As for me, the lengthy theoretical entries should be left for the academic reports and the theory of routine study should be kept in purely scientific net. And the description of the everyday life of people can and must be the plot for a scientific popular edition. It needs to leave aboard the dullness of the scholar exploration. There were different people among the ‘inspectors’ of that study: the burdened with the scientific degree, as well as the happy ones to live without it in a country where science got tired to prove its right to live in opposition to politics and mass culture. But, frankly speaking, the thoughts of the last ones weighed more for the evaluation of the text as it evolved from the dry scientific thesis to the book. That’s why the clearer was the sight of the finish line of my work, the less long words ending with in ‘-ism’, ‘-logy’ or something like them remained.

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<sup>1</sup> Lyon, S. M. “‘Open’ Ethnography and the Internet in the Field: Increased Communications, Feedback, and ‘Usability’ Versus Technical and Ethical Issues in *JASO*, Vol. XXX, 1999, no.1,54.



Hopefully, this ‘simplification’ of the scientific text, however, has not affected the quality of the research findings. With the rest, I’m not one of the Grimm brothers so the clarity of my stories gave grounds for doubt about their realism. However I won’t skip some explanation of a number of methodological issues. I will do it, for instance, to stop the questions like the one I heard from one of my readers with a scientific degree raised up on the classic Marxist-Leninist methodology. He wondered where the division of the Soviet society into classes disappeared – even though twenty five years had passed after the collapse of the USSR. I hope it will be useful to someone. At least, in order to know where I once stumbled thus not to take my “research rake”.

### **TOPICALITY: THE LIMIT OF THE “INTERNATIONALLY IMPORTANT” AND “INDIVIDUALLY INTERESTING”**

Taking up the study of the past, there immediately rises the question: what for one should page up archival files, what is the need to return to life the fates of people and nations disappeared long ago in time? Roughly speaking, you start to search for so desired relevance. Moreover, from the first pages of individual studies rather familiar sounding word about the importance of a fair topic for today. The authors confidently try to prove that appeal to their problems will help Ukraine solve many contemporary issues. For example, in 2013, I was present at the defense of the scientific thesis when the researcher working with urban history claimed that Khrushchev housing experience would be useful to present-day statesmen. However, modern financial pyramids and frauds with the estate such as notorious “Elita-Center” in Kyiv in 2006 when more than 1.5 thousand people were deceived, increasingly cast doubt on the possibility of reviving past practices. Some of my close friends from the professional shop argue that the problem of power in the new country can be solved basing on their analysis of the state’s evolution in 1930-1940. But the world is still living under the same classic Hegelian principle that history teaches that it actually teaches nothing. Moreover, over time, not only the politicians, who once influenced the course of history, changed, but also the conditions under which their successors are no longer able to repeat the achievements of their totalitarian predecessors.

Sometimes in such introductions to the papers one can meet a statement that author’s thoughts set out in the work will help in changing the perspectives of history-writing in Ukraine. As some assume, seems to be still in a net of Marxist-Leninist methodology and practices and is not willing to be converted to the

“bourgeois” schools of historiography. In fact, the colleagues under such statement look not for the topicality of their research but for the self-persuasion of their significance. Talking loudly that the work will change the whole state historiography is useless. The world still has a law promoted from ancient times, about the freedom of choice of everyone. The historian will select that style and these methods which his heart and mind will care about (even if he will remain the last and only Marxist, and the whole world will recognize his methodology obsolete and politically irrelevant).

Finally, the concept of actuality is as transient as fashion. Topic that is interesting for today can seem dull and limited tomorrow. And it has hard to forget about the familiar examples for our country when even serious Luminaries of science had to postpone the defense of their theses or the publications of monographs only because their “relevance” changed with the death or displacement of another General Secretary, or because of the emergence of the “renewed” course of the party. Finally, a sensible idea of Shirley Ardener got before my eyes:

*“There is, of course, an old refrain that research of all kinds must adapt to the needs of society-which leads to the obvious question: who decides what those needs are?”<sup>1</sup>”*

So, wondering how to justify the ‘topicality’ of my own research to the new readers of the draft, it is more desirable to formulate its original principle with the help of the primordial folk wisdom: “Beauty is in the eye of the beholder” (or even with even sharper proverb of the Ukrainian tradition – “What is good for the Ukrainian, is death to the Tatar”). The relevance of the research should be determined by the choice and the preferences of the researcher not the epoch. Then the scientist will really work for decent results, and the paper will not become the next step I the rush after the scientific degree or dusty book that will support the library shelves for then not to fall down.

Of course, I could start with the fact that the topic of my current research – the everyday life – is relevant, because I am trying to have a look at the historical process as a complex of different vectors thus aiming to returning the integrity of the vision of the past. I could also recall that modern history marked its departure from the political core and converted to the cross-subject issues.

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<sup>1</sup> Ardener, Shirley. “The Funding of Social Anthropological Research: A Preliminary Note to a Fragment of History Written by E. M. Chilver in 1955” in *JASO*, Vol. XXIX, 1998, no.3, 243.

But I will start with a different explanation. The theme became topical for me because of the banal passage of time: people who witnessed the creation of the superpower once called “Soviet Union” gradually are passing away – people who lived and survived, adapted and fought, destroyed old and built new on its ruins. And with them goes back in time and specific human worldview of the Soviet reality. We have its reflection in the memoir of the writers and politicians. However, it is rather “Favorites” of that outlook. Currently, there are interesting, thorough research about life, everyday life and worldview of Soviet society. But even there we confront with the realization that these works have a common sin of all historians, which none of us can get rid of – the subjective view from behind the screen of our alleged objectivity. In such circumstances, the outlook of Soviet citizens is furnished with the apologetics or criticism of the researcher and the output is a fusion of the imaginary and the real. Current research increasingly seek to describe public attitudes, reactions and opinions resort forgetting the real source, clogged even just with the life experience, not ideological screens and standards – the memory of living people. So, probably, one of the goals of that research was to capture memories of direct participants of the events of the “thaw”, who go away to a better world together with calendar sheets rather quickly.

Not less actuality was given to my research by the fact that most of so-called “invisible history actors”<sup>1</sup>, as they were aptly named by Taras Tsymbal, were if not my relatives and teachers, but at least those who actually laid the foundations of the worldview of my parents and teachers. Even their current actions and views differ in many ways from the same from so-called Pepsi generation. Perhaps, when you want to understand your teacher better you get into finding the origins of his discipleship.

The specific subject of the topic, which I will speak about later, is also a part of the ever-present actuality. Poltava National Pedagogical University, my alma mater, went across the verge of its centennial jubilee. The scientists of the institution prepared monographs on its life way which are awarded with the regional prizes. However, the history of the university is not only the story of the departments and faculties. This is even more the narrative of people whose dreams kept together and inspired the rebuilding of the walls of the ruined educational premises during the postwar years. Or even more: the history of the university doesn't have to become a “Soviet-like story” of heroic labor and academic

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<sup>1</sup> Tsymbal, Taras. “Peredmova do druhoho ukrayins'koho vydannya” in *Novi pidkhody do istoriopysannya* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 9.

achievements of its leaders. The cold of the university classrooms and the presence of State Security Committee agents in the personnel department of the institute played a much larger role in shaping the worldview of people than the number of doctors and professors per square meter of the institute building. Therefore, after looking through the pages of the editions of the anniversary monographs I wanted to give a look of the man from the future on past events presenting real people who had not yet turned into heroes of honored metrologies along with the description of the departments, filled with everyday life problems, but not with the only successes and achievements.

So saying in a simple scientific language, the purpose of the study was to find out the specifics of interference of the state, public institutions and representatives of a closed group of teachers during the 1953-1964 years of de-Stalinization in the UkrSSR. Most of these questions concerning the life of educators in time and space of their institutes, with money, agriculture, language and interpersonal problems I have already presented in my monograph “In the Grip of De-Stalinization: Mosaics of Everyday Life of Pedagogical Institutes of the UkrSSR in 1953–1964” (Poltava, 2016).

### **SEEKING FOR A “GLOBAL PROCESS” OR A “COMMON THING”**

Before re-creating the canvas of the political consciousness of the educators of mid-twentieth century, I must leave a brief description of what is brought to the study – from the processes proceeded in history, to the mundane “subject” on which I will concentrate your and my greatest attention. Before the narrative, I have to introduce you the country in the days of the “thaw” for its political map may seem different from the contemporary one, and also to tell how deep in time will reach my “tour”.

Finding the limits of your own research, you start searching for the merge where “yours” borders the “fiefdom” of your colleagues. Some Ukrainian scientists as medieval landlords protect their field of research trying not to let anyone into “their” sphere until their intellectual or even physical exhaustion. And you feel glad in such “intellectual wanderings” that at least the object of your research can be shared, and will not threaten with the charges of competition or plagiarism. However, looking for the boundaries of the object of my own theme, I stood on the

crossroads. If to bring together all definitions of the objects found in good books, articles and dissertations on the related topics, we have the following two groups.

The first ones look at the object of the search as at the process of de-Stalinization in 1953-1964 and its impact on the consciousness of the Ukrainian population. In fact, a more “historic” object is hard to find. In these works, the authors (e.g. Mykola Breheda<sup>1</sup>) focused precisely on the *process* of de-Stalinization in the country. The authorities’ reforms are major in their study, even though the researchers touch the problem of people’s attitude to political changes. Reading their works, you vividly imagine the state with its political and economic problems. The population reacts to these changes, but its reaction is based on the priorities of the government. I wanted to push the state into the background. And for these reasons de-Stalinization as the revolution started from the top, could not become the first in identifying the object.

In the second group (the sample-research by Nani Hohokhiya<sup>2</sup>), the object is defined as the adaptation of the particular segments of the population to the social transformations in the UkrSSR. Frank gravity to the second put some questions: where is the line between traditional for the Ukrainian science “historicity” of the object and its “sociological” component (not to mention the pitfalls of psychology, biology and anthropology). I was kept aside from this determination by the fact that the adaptation was basically understood only in material form – as human adaptation to social demands in the assimilation of norms and values of society. In my work, despite numerous excursions into micro-history, oral history, historical psychology, I still tried not to be lost in the world of the ideals of my actors. For the picture of everyday consisted not only from the ideal substances as beliefs but also from all imperfect life and far imperfect state, which both pressured the educators almost every day.

I had to define what would be fundamental in determining the object: the process of perception (ideal), which only reflect the social and political changes, or the historical process (material), influencing the changes taking place in the world? The classic problem of philosophy – whether consciousness determines being, or being determines consciousness – made itself felt. I can not object to the fact that the conditions of daily life influenced the choice of the behavior patterns of

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<sup>1</sup> Breheda, Mykola. *Stavlennya naseleння Ukrainy's'koyi RSR do protsesu destalinizatsiyi (1953–1964 roky)* (Ph.D. diss., Mykolayiv, 2009), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hohokhiya, Nani. “Praktyky povsyakdennoyi zhyttyedyal'nosti ukrayins'koho suspil'stva v umovakh formuvannya totalitaryzmu: sotsial'na adaptatsiya selyanstva” in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka...* (Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'kyy, 2010), 59.

teachers and students. On the contrary, in my search, I became more and more convinced that material life once again sketched the “road map” to the teachers. Instead, decisions and choices made by teachers in the immaterial sphere (the sphere of ideology and beliefs) changed their routine. Finally, I decided to leave philosophy to philosophers, and limited my range of study with unpretentious life of the citizens of the UkrSSR in the day of de-Stalinization. I hope that this clear to everyone term “life” will cover not only the material and spiritual components. And I propose to go further along this flimsy boundaries narrowing too wide range of research.

### **THE SUBJECT: LOOKING FOR YOUR OWN SHORE**

Studying the great processes one should cling a bank, not to drown in the ocean of information. Speaking more scientifically, to clearly outline a research subject, the inquiring mind wants to reach everything at once, especially when you immerse into archival records, losing track of time. I won't say that in my case it was somehow different and I immediately outlined a subject of my study. On the contrary, I should admit that its final wording came only writing these lines.

The reason is quite simple. At the time, rushing in the endless sea of information, I counted on what my predecessors have already written not to repeat their achievements. I analyzed what they were silent about, looking for the possibility to add color to their conclusions. Material was accumulated as quickly, as the limits of the subject of research broadened making it easily to get lost in it. Each new document proposed to examine whether veiled state influence on educators' behavior, or simply sought to clarify the reasons of the conflicts among teachers described therein. Other revealed living conditions of people, for which the state existed only on posters and placards of demonstrations, and the changes of worldview were rather the result of the fulfilling of their primary needs.

Therefore, to “curb” own research appetites; I had to find out how the colleagues limited their “scientific field”. Russian scientist Yelena Ryapolova chose socio-political and socio-cultural processes of the Khrushchev's “thaw” as a subject of research<sup>1</sup>. However, it immediately recalled me an accurate comparison from the book by Nataliya Yakovenko, who jokingly spoke of the broad topics as about “short stories about the Universe”<sup>2</sup>. Although the author limited herself with

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<sup>1</sup> Ryapolova, Yelena. *Obshchestvenno-politicheskie i sotsiokul'turnye protsessy v hode khrushchevskoy «ottepeli» 1953-1964 gg. (Po materyalam Kubani)*, (Ph.D. diss., Krasnodar, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Yakovenko, Natalya. *Vstup do istoriyi* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2007), 295.

the territory of the Kuban region, the latitude of the formulation of her subject only led to the expansion of these borders in her work. Especially counting of that fact that Soviet reality, being generous to the reports and other bureaucratic scribbling, bestowed quite a secured source base. The need for conscious narrowing of the subject is added by the work of some departments of the Institute of History of NASU that focused on the study of the history of everyday life<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the most dynamic areas of that research in foreign countries<sup>2</sup> as well as in the once brotherly Russia<sup>3</sup> were Stalin era and the period of de-Stalinization.

Conspicuous accumulation of material about the life of students and teachers of higher educational school allowed limiting descriptions of everyday life. Moreover, there were some tempting recommendations by the Academician Yuriy Polyakov to explore in the modern era not cultural, political or industrial achievements, but the person itself, his life as it was and what it became<sup>4</sup>. And everyday world was so easy to be linked with changes in the minds of teachers, even using the best examples of once leading materialist methodology. Even in times of the “thaw” the teacher of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI Mykola Sharipov remarked that “consciousness was a direct reflection of social life, or rather the conditions of society<sup>5</sup>”. However, in my study, I touched not only the history of relations between people, but also the history of walls, streets, shops and parks that created the mood and background to all this “strategies and tactics” of behavior in university teams.

I had to turn to other works wherever originality of the views of historians of everyday life can be compared to what I call the “classics of the genre”: the description of political change. My attention was caught by the study of Mykola Breheda. The scientist formulated the object of his research as the attitude of different populations of the UkrSSR to a number of reforms in the country<sup>6</sup>. The researcher gave a good picture of the position of people in different regions of the country, describing examples of their statements and actions. Complexity of his work is without doubt helped in many ways in my own research. However, there is

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<sup>1</sup> Kolyastruk, Olena. *Problematyka istoriyi povsyakdennosti v suchasniy ukrayins'kiy istoriohrafii in Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka...* (Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'ky, 2010), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Laas, Nataliya. *Suchasna anhlo-amerykans'ka istoriohrafiiya pro povsyakdennist' struktury ta praktyky v SRSR in Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka...* (Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'ky, 2010), 35.

<sup>3</sup> Shvayba, Nadiya. *Radyans'ke povsyakdennya v doslidzhennyakh rosiys'kykh istorykyv in Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka...* (Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'ky, 2010), 36.

<sup>4</sup> Polyakov, Yuriy. “Chelovek v povsednevnosti” in *Voprosy istorii*, 2000, No. 3125, 127.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 599, ark.91.

<sup>6</sup> Breheda, Mykola. *Stavlennya naseleण्या Ukrayins'koyi RSR do protsesu destalinizatsiyi (1953–1964 roky)* (Ph.D. diss., Mykolayiv, 2009), 4.

one “but”. Researcher depicted reactions of too diverse groups of population. Although the scientist talked about the introduction of differentiation of the analyzing of the reactions according to the party affiliation, social origin or profession, in the pages of his work it was easy to find the descriptions of the attitude of non-party workers and party farmers, housewives busy with everyday routine and professors sunk into science when he was describing the same problem. So I had a question about how common the motives of such actions and how identical the technology of influence onto their choice were. I also wondered how dramatically different conditions of life of populations influenced on their vision of the world.

Talking about the reaction of different sectors of the population to political changes during Khrushchev’s rule is like to description of the unity of the motive of firebugs in history. For the reasons that pushed Nero to burn Rome quite differed from those that prompted Kutuzov to do the same with Moscow.

Ihor Tatarinov in one of his articles as if criticized scientists saying that “*most of the works on the history of Ukrainian people are generalized and not pay attention to certain periods and groups*”<sup>1</sup>. Instead, scientific quests of the foreign historians were quite fruitful study of life reasons, conditions and guidelines of personal growth of clearly limited teams. For example, the basis of research by Zuzana Búriková and Daniel Miller served was a group of students on exchange with common problems and achievements<sup>2</sup>.

Perhaps that is why the ascent to the level of a relatively homogeneous group of educators of higher pedagogical school, related with the common problems and life benchmarks, managed by the identical state acts and held together with relatively homogeneous worldview convinced me that the motives of their activities would become clearer, reactions would take concrete and the actions of members of the social group would get a common vector.

So, why the educators of the pedagogical institutes of the country?

Perhaps the most important argument in favor of this was personal belonging to the cohort of those who sows “reasonable, good, and eternal”. This allowed me to understand the specifics of the psychology of the studied team better, to find out the conditions in which students had to grow and work with their mentors.

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<sup>1</sup> Tatarinov, Ihor. Metodolohichni problemy doslidzhennya povsyakdennoho zhyttya pratsivnykiv vazhkoyi promyslovosti Ukrayins’koyi RSR u pershe povoyenne desyatylittya in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka...* (Pereyaslav-Khmel’nyts’kyy, 2010), 167.

<sup>2</sup> See: “Whitake, J. Zuzana Búriková and Daniel Miller. Au Pair” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. II (2010), 1-2, 85.



However, personal preferences are not a good argument to convince even you in the correctness of the choice of the subject.

Ukrainian researcher Oksana Prokhorenko characterized educational intelligentsia as the one that determines the future of the people, although it does play by the rules imposed by the authority<sup>1</sup>.

Actually, this is true, especially if we recall the words of English philosopher Ernest Gellner who stated that

*“at the base of the modern social order stands not the executioner but the professor. Not the guillotine, but the (aptly named) doctorat d'état is the main tool and symbol of state power. The monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than is the monopoly of legitimate violence”*<sup>2</sup>.

Most of the attitudes and motives of actions of the Soviet people had three roots: family life, so-called “street” and, of course, the school. That was the school desk that gave impetus to the further achievement and losses of the Soviet society. The school had a teacher who shaped the consciousness of citizen under the templates of commitment with the skill of the potter. Not only Heroes of Socialist Labor, but also the desperate criminals stepped out of school classrooms. And in many ways the choice of the future depended on the teacher, whose world-view is similarly “had been molded” within the walls of pedagogical institutes, as he then “sculpted” the world view of his students as well.

Those smithies of teaching staff were considered the smithies of ideological workers as well. The educators of pedagogical institutes openly attributed their places of work to a specific category of “ideological schools”<sup>3</sup>. This was understood by the students, too. For example, Yevdokiya Budnyk, the student of the historical department of Poltava SPI, stated in her composition during the entrance exam in 1959 that she wanted to be a part of “an ideological institution”<sup>4</sup>. Her older colleague, Olha Avramenko even quoted words of Nikita Khrushchev about the teacher as “the closest friend of the Party in educating the new man”<sup>5</sup>. So

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<sup>1</sup> Prokhorenko, Oksana. “Dynamika kil'kisnykh i yakisnykh kharakterystyk naukovo-pedahohichnoyi intelihentsiyi URSR (1945-1955 rr.),” in *Ukrayina. XX stolittya*, no. 10 (2006), 187.

<sup>2</sup> Gellner, Ernest, “Industrial Society” in Gellner, E. *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.4824, ark. 8.

<sup>4</sup> APNPU f. 1.(z/v), op. 1964 (Ist. viddil) (A-V), spr. Budnyk Yevdokiya Maksymivna, ark. 30zv.

<sup>5</sup> APNPU, f. 1.(z/v), op. 1961 (Ist. viddil) (A-B), spr. Avramenko Ol'ha Oleksiyivna, 28

it was very logical that in the mid-XX<sup>th</sup> century teacher was understood as “a communist by his spirit<sup>1</sup>”.

And one of the latest regulations on higher education of the USSR of the de-Stalinization era in 1961 determined the distribution of scientific and political knowledge among workers as the main (!) task of work of pedagogical institutes<sup>2</sup>. And universities adequately fulfilled the mission of party leaders. For example, let us remember the enormous achievements of higher educational schools in promoting the new Program and the Charter of CPSU in 1961/ these were the teachers who made that discussion really popular among masses, and the “choice” was construed as fully conscious and independent choice of each person<sup>3</sup>.

However, this “ideological primacy” over time became vulnerable point of the educators. In the heat of party struggle and revolutionary vigilance it was easy to lose the logic and thinking and became the blind performer of the will of the totalitarian state from the thinking citizen. And that will was far imperfect. The poet Boris Slutskiy wrote about it in his own manner:

*And you, intelligent and learned –  
Oh, you, highly wise men, –  
you were led by the nose like the girls,  
like the children, you were eked out by the hand<sup>4</sup>.*

One can fairly note that classic universities were not worse than pedagogical institutes as well as other special higher institutions of that time. Is there a reason to leave them outside the research subject? Frankly speaking, teacher training institutions were not the leaders in the wide ideological influence on the youth of the country. Thus, in 1953, out of 48 thousand 505 students entering all universities of the UkrSSR, only 20% (10 thousand people) were going to be teachers and went solemnly to pedagogical establishments<sup>5</sup>. In 1959, in a country with 138 higher education institutions, teachers’ higher schools made up only one-third (43 institutes and universities<sup>6</sup>). By 1960, the year after all mergers and reorganizations,

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, 18.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr. 312, ark. 29.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr.380, ark. 3.

<sup>4</sup> “Nado, chtoby dety yly zvery...” in *Russia under Khrushchev...* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 410.

<sup>5</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, ark. 15.

<sup>6</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 225,ark. 21.

their share had reduced to 28% (33 facilities<sup>1</sup>). Besides that I found a memorandum by the Deputy Minister of the MHE of the UkrSSR N. Lysakova. Its author allowed herself to note that in those circumstances that occurred with youth employment, those were the classic “universities that basically had to prepare high school teachers<sup>2</sup>”. It openly raised questions about claims of pedagogical universities on monopolistic influence in shaping the worldview of the younger generation.

Perhaps it would have narrowed a circle of “studied”. However, the problem was not to illustrate the exclusivity of higher pedagogical school. On the contrary, the discussion went about its identity in certain issues not only to all higher, but also to the secondary school, its unity with society as such, but not its opposition to the development of the whole Soviet society. Higher pedagogical school could be such an experimental group, on the example of which I could be easy to explore both specific and general conditions of changing of the every-day world of the citizens of the UkrSSR. That is why the whole system of higher education in Ukraine of the “thaw” did not become the subject of my research. Of course, understanding the importance of social ties, I turned to occasional parallels with the life of non-pedagogical universities of the country. They only reinforced my belief that if I had practiced an analysis of the everyday of all higher schools of the country I would have left unattended a frank dissonance of the life of higher pedagogical schools.

Therefore, the study subject narrowed to the material and ideal everyday practices of the staffs of the pedagogical institutes of the Ukrainian SSR during the time of de-Stalinization.

### CONSCIOUSNESS AS AN ASPECTS OF DESCRIPTION

But what aspect of life I should choose a as a basis in studying of educational groups? I frankly did not try to duplicate the “history of events” of higher pedagogical school according to the structure of the famous Caesar’s “I came, I saw, I conquered.” I did not want to clarify the so-called abstract “general laws” of life of the institutes either, found in many complex editions on similar topics<sup>3</sup>. Ukrainian history, hopefully, is walking straight away from the severe division into little “fiefdoms” with the narrow subjects of study that a scientist is prohibited to

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<sup>1</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 239, ark. 59.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 1, spr. 27, ark. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Tatenko, V. O. “Pro teoretyko-metodolohichni zasady psykhologichnoho doslidzhennya suspil'nykh yavlyshch” in *Naukovi studiyi iz sotsial'noyi ta politychnoyi psykhologiyi: Zbirnyk statey* (Kyiv: Ahropromvydav Ukrainy, 1999), Vypusk 2(5), 20.

cross. And it is heading to the “cooperation of sciences” so common to the Western eye united under the title “Social studies<sup>1</sup>”. Russian scientist Aleksandr Chubar’yan said on this occasion that history is becoming an irrevocably pluralistic science, forced to effectively combine polar scientific methodology for its own future<sup>2</sup>. The good examples of this closely intertwining of history with the achievements of other disciplines can be a work by Ihor Serdiuk on history of urban population of the Hetman State in the middle of the XVIII century where demography was combined with the great historical narrative<sup>3</sup>.

It has become popular in Ukraine to talk loudly about different “turns” in the research practice of the modernity, from generally used anthropological to more narrow and raphinated biographical turn<sup>4</sup>. The combination of developments of sociology, cognitive psychology, cultural anthropology, social and oral history became almost the rule of etiquette in the latest studies. Caught by the new methodological trends, I stopped my attention on the study of the historical change of the consciousness of educators. Moreover, teachers of the day of the “thaw” had already been studying the formation of communist consciousness by themselves long before me<sup>5</sup>. In the wake of previous optimistic methodological and theoretical remarks it seemed that search of works for the theoretical base of the description of the evolution of consciousness in the historical process could bring good results.

However, the “classical post-Soviet science” clearly divided the spheres of the rule. If I found the works on the research of people’s consciousness, they were clearly written not by the historians. Economist Wilma Galubitskayte was studying the consciousness as a collection of thoughts, attitudes and systems<sup>6</sup>. Her evaluation criteria of consciousness intersected with the philosophical quest by

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<sup>1</sup> Tsymbal, Taras. “Peredmova do druhooho ukrayins’koho vydannya” in *Novi pidkhody do istoriopysannya* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Chubar’yan, Aleksandr. “O kryzyse rossyyskoy ystorycheskoy nauky”, *Nezavisimaya gazeta-stsenariy*, 1998, no. 11, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Serdyuk, Ihor. Polkovi mista Livoberezhnoyi Ukrayiny seredyny XVIII st.: istoryko-demohrafichnyy vymir (na prykladi Nizhyna, Pereyaslava, Staroduba) (Ph.D. diss., Kyiv, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Hrinchenko, Helinada. “(Avto)biohrafichne interv’yu v usnoistorychnykh doslidzhennyakh: do pytannya pro teoriyu naratyvnoho analizu” in *Skhid/Zakhid*, Vypusk. 11–12. Spetsial’ne vydannya, 59.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.P-5369, op.1, spr.359, ark.10.

<sup>6</sup> Galubitskayte, Vilma. Metodolgiyya statisticheskogo issledovaniya obshchestvennogo mneniya (na prymere Litvy) (Ph.D. diss., Moscow, 1991), 5-6.

Valentyn Lahetko<sup>1</sup>. His colleague Vyacheslav Gerasimov equated public opinion to knowledge and belief, ethical attitudes and mental acts<sup>2</sup>.

However, I wanted to see the analysis of consciousness not only in numbers of opinion polls but in the historical context. So I tended to find out whether consciousness of educators could become the subject of historical research without stepping on the heels of philosophy, psychology or sociology.

The consciousness has become a subject of the research in Ukraine at least since the mid 1960s, when Soviet historians resorted to its sociological study. The strong interest in the social-psychological phenomenon of conscience was reinforced by involving quantitative methods for its analysis in 1980's. They were widely promoted by the historian Svetlana Mints<sup>3</sup>. Among the long list of works, which I had analyzed, looking for the human mind to be part of the research subject of historian, the exemplary one is the monograph by Valeriy Smoliy, published in 1985, "The formation of social consciousness of the folk masses of Ukraine in the class struggle (second half of XVII-XVIII centuries)<sup>4</sup>." Surely, there were too many ideological clichés and Marxist terms called to life by the "class theory." Nevertheless, the core of research was national consciousness even being covered under the veil of class doctrine.

Not long than three years ago it was hard to convince my colleagues that historians are the ones who should be in the vanguard of studying the evolution of the folk consciousness. Most of my interlocutors on the contrary were convinced to leave that bulk of work to the candidates of political sciences. And that was widely spread practice. For example, in 2009, Hanna Redkina defended the thesis in which she characterized the national consciousness of the country since 1991 being major not in History but in Political sciences<sup>5</sup>. That is why the publications of the mentioned researches by Mykola Breheda and Nani Hohokhiya were quite appropriate. They were a turn-point even though human attitudes and reactions of people hardly moved away from the traditional dry description of the thoughts "the

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<sup>1</sup> Lahetko, Valentin. *Vzaymosvyaz' obshchestvennoy psikhologii i ideologii v aspekte sotsyal'no-deyatel'nostnoy sushchnosti cheloveka* (Ph.D. diss., Kyiv, 1987), 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Herasimov, V. M. *Metodologicheskie problemy issledovaniya obshchestvennogo mneniya*. (Ph.D. diss., Moscow, 1992), 14.

<sup>3</sup> Mints, S. S. "O vozmozhnom podkhode k izucheniyu sotsial'nogo soznaniya v istoriko-kul'turnykh issledovaniyakh (postanovka problemy)" in *Matematicheskie metody i ÉVM v istoriko-tipologicheskikh issledovaniyakh* (Moskva: Nauka, 1989), 212.

<sup>4</sup> Smoliy, Valeriy. *Formuvannya sotsial'noyi svidomosti narodnykh mas Ukrayiny v khodi klasovoyi borot'by (druha polovyna XVII-XVIII stolittya)* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985), 264.

<sup>5</sup> Red'kina, H. M. *Natsional'na svidomist' naseleння Ukrayiny v umovakh derzhavnoyi nezalezhnosti* (Ph.D., diss., Kyiv, 2009), URL: <http://www.lib.ua-ru.net/diss/cont/353875.html>

one man said and than he did...” The further findings were to introduce into the historical science an adequate analysis of the motives of the people and the conditions of their choices.

Not going to reinvent the wheel, the public consciousness in such a study can easily be divided depending on its form into the political, environmental, religious, national, moral consciousness and so on. Educators of the UkrSSR left imprints of their worldview in many sources on different topics allowing to look at the long-lasting changes in national (or. If you wish, nationalist) views of teachers, in religious tastes in the officially atheistic state. The pages of archival files and memories allowed recreating the everyday consciousness of students and teachers with its norms, values and deviations.

Among the range of issues studied by me, I particularly distinguished the evolution of political consciousness of the educators of the “thaw” period. The reason for vigilance on this issue is quite logical. The examples of the textbook understanding of the subject of history in Ukraine since the Soviet times were kept in the fairways of identification of history with the history of the state. Sir John Seeley in his reflections in the late nineteenth century turned the attention of his readers to the fact that history was actually the past of politics and politics revealed to be the modernity of history<sup>1</sup>. The description of the political everyday of pedagogical institutes touched the range of problems of inner and internal affairs, public order and the describing prominent political figures. That’s why it was obligate for me to apply the methodology those presenting the “historian view from above<sup>2</sup>”, as Peter Burke called it.

However, government officials, Communist Party and the Soviet state in this study already are not independent components of the subject. They turn into “objects” that reflected in the minds of teachers and students. I decided to go down from the top of the political titans of the epoch all way down to the interpretation of how their titanic value or meanness were perceived by the people and how the last ones created their own political myths, images and symbols.

Thus, the main components in the study of political everyday life are not the politicians but namely their images in people’s minds. Why images? Firstly, I’ll recall the words of the Ukrainian decadents Evhen Sverstyuk, who was lecturing to the students of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute in October 1957, saying that

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<sup>1</sup> Seeley, John Robert. *Expansion of England: two courses of lectures* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1914), 189-207.

<sup>2</sup> Berk, Peter. “Vsup. Nova istoriya: yiyi mynule i maybutnye” in *Novi pidkhody do istoriopysannya...* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 15.

“image was a reflection of the focus of life<sup>1</sup>”. Let me repeat the outstanding contemporary and state: the images of politicians formed by the staffs of educators were the focuses of their everyday activities. People hated or idolized not the real Joseph Stalin but the image that they also produced in their minds under the influence of preferences and moods in a team and under ideological pressure.

To specify the subject of this study I will revert to the works by Mykola Breheda<sup>2</sup>. He bears the undeniable superiority in comprehensive study of the reaction of the population of the UkrSSR towards the policy of de-Stalinization. The researcher pays attention to changes in the state machine and to the development of the government activity as such. In this background, he is giving the sketches of the reaction of citizens of the UkrSSR. Therefore, the picturing of the attitude of the Soviet citizens by Mr. Breheda resembles a short description of the principle of “stimulus generates a response”. He gives us a snapshot of people’s actions (reaction) once meaningful public decision was made by the state (the stimulus). For example, he describes the scheme of the new state apparatus after the death of Joseph Stalin (stimulus). And then he is stringing the mosaic response of different population groups (reaction) on its background. Then he comes back to it only when the XX<sup>th</sup> Party Congress stepped onto Stalin’s memory in 1956. In another chapter the researcher mentions the economic reforms of Georgiy Malenkov of 1953 (stimulus), and the attitude of individual citizens to them (reaction). But never comes back to the topic of the perception of Malenkov’s activities after that. Even when discussing the “anti-party group case” of 1957 he omitted the analyses of how the people changed their understanding of economic activities of the two-year past. The whole book is composed in the same pattern: the adoption of the new course of power – the presentation of the new “response” of the people. This study is similar to a survey of the “answers” of people to the “question” of the States: “And what do you think about this decision of our government?”

Undoubtedly, the events which M. Breheda tied himself to in his work, were, what I call, “the points of fixation” of the changes of people’s minds – turning points in their worldview. They are obviously necessary in the research. However, the problem of the attitude to Stalin clearly didn’t fade with the adoption of a new political or imperative ruling decision, for example, on the economic prosperity. Sometimes, on the contrary, the reaction of people was overgrowing with time new

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 620, ark.321.

<sup>2</sup> Breheda, Mykola. *Protses destalinizatsiyi i suspil’ni nastroyi ukrayins’koho naseleennya u 1953-1964 rr.: Monohrafiya.* (Mykolayiv, 2010).

facts generated by the everyday talks and speculations even if the State kept silence about the political problem. Mykola Breheda did also not take in the account the fact of the reverse influence of people's point of view of government's further plans. So, it is not right to confine the study of changing attitudes to Joseph Stalin with the period of "mourning week" in March of 1953 and switch to clarify the relationship to economic reforms. The death of Stalin had long echoed in the verbal and physical reactions of the Soviet people with or without reason. Some of them showed the signs of weakening of the attachment to the memory of the leader; others expressed the growing frustration even when discussing questions not related to the memory of the late dictator.

As I see, the deep study needs illustrating to as much the relation of the closed groups to the politics, but the evolution of the image of the politician in the minds of the group mates. But here I need to do one more remark. In my work I had to face the fact that a large number of students and teachers of the UkrSSR were completely indifferent to the post-Stalinist regime changes or to the visits the prominent political officials to sister countries and to the hostile states. It doesn't match with the traditional point of view that the Soviet society was totally indoctrinal. Even I myself noted that teachers were the leaders of ideology frontier. It seems rather contradictory statement. I will leave these remarks without the fact bases till the time. However, the apathy to politics makes it hard to talk about the evaluation of politics by the students. Having no interest to the topic of conversation they had nothing to say. But their point of view than was just a transition of the official propaganda. And the words of the youth were replaced by the "printed wisdom" of the editorials of newspapers, video chronicles of the day and ubiquitous agitators.

The subject of the current study includes students and teaching staffs of pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR and their consciousness. However, there is a question of the statistical sampling because the current studies of public opinion of the whole country involve several thousand respondents. Similarly, this book is written using two different approaches. According to one, I described the change in the minds of educators of the higher pedagogical schools of the entire country using patchy phrases and descriptions of reactions of students and teachers of more than 30 SPIs of the UkrSSR in the press, the minutes of party meetings and in the documents of higher schools. The "anthology" of such statements is easily found in the central archives of Ukraine. The educational institutions sent many reports and memoranda during Soviet times, already arranged in the theatrical files. For



example, “The reaction of educators o Stalin’s death.” These cases only “require” author’s conjunction words and sentences to create “a template work” on reaction of educators written under the scheme “the government did – the institute said on it.” These documents help gradually see the common patterns of behavior of educators. So you even think that nothing could be easier than the construction of the schemes of reaction of the institute staffs to changes in the country.

However, consciousness is not a result of the standardized production. The recorded similarity in reactions of the teams of different SPIs undergone significant changes with time because of unlike conditions of material and ideal sides of their lives. Pedagogical institutes distinguished not only from other educational establishments, but also differed among themselves no less than the people who worked in them. The quantity of the staff of the institutes was different as well. And we need to agree that it was a little bit easier to influence the consciousness of the team of thirty teachers in Drohobych SPI than to convince one hundred thirty educators of Poltava institute. As well as it was completely different thing to organize hundred and forty students of Drohobych to work than to do it with a contingent of two thousand young people in Poltava. Besides, the state policy was understood completely dissimilarly by the students and teachers of those universities fully equipped with the apartments and hostels than by the employees of institutions not having even their own academic buildings, so the universities had to rent schools or kindergartens to hold the lectures there.

Reflections on how broad the studied group should be, led me to the analysis of scientific research of Edward Banfiyld made by Emanuele Ferragina:

*“He led the research in a small village, assuming that only a small-scale study would be able to reveal the ethos of the inhabitants. .... He decided to focus on a village of less than 10,000 inhabitants, as he believed it would then be easier to understand the functioning of the economy as a whole and its relation to the cultural background<sup>1</sup>”.*

So I do in my researching of the evolution of the political consciousness of the educators of the UkrSSR of the “thaw.” I too believe that the less is the number of the close-knit group the more exact and correct results can be gained in the process of evaluation of changes. There is also a positive fact that the Ukrainian historians began to look at their current projects through the prism of the school of annals.

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<sup>1</sup> Ferragina, Emanuele. “The never-ending debate about The moral basis of a backward society: Banfield and ‘amoral familism’”, *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no. 2, 143.

That directed them to focus not on the global processes but on the description of the small time and geographical locations, moving to deepening into the study of life of social, age, gender, religious and professional groups<sup>1</sup>.

So, the main road sign for this monograph was set up by Edward Tylor:

*“There are people so intent on the separate life of individuals that they cannot grasp a notion of the action of a community as a whole such an observer, incapable of a wide view of society, is aptly described in the saying that he ‘cannot see the forest for the trees’. But, on the other hand, the philosopher may be so intent upon his general laws of society as to neglect the individual actors of whom that society is made up, and of him it may be said that he cannot see the trees for the forest<sup>2</sup>.”*

Keeping this in mind, I tried to make a combined study. From one hand, I had a desire to write about the patterns inherent to all SPIs of the country. From the second, there was little wish to make-up sometimes superficial conclusions based on the examples of the reaction artificially selected by the Soviet state. That is why the most of the images of the politicians were looked through the viewing-glass of the specific educational institution which can be regarded as a separate social group. As I believe, each pedagogical institute was a separate living organism that could be the basic for the scientific experiment. It governed by the same official acts, lived in similar conditions with typical organization and a similar model work related to the higher teachers’ educational institutions of the UkrSSR. That is why a separate pedagogical institute could be a model for the study of the whole picture according to the method of analogy. However, the life of the particular institution had a lot of individual differences related to geography location, history and reorganization, staff composition, material resources, the influence of the environment and many other little things that sometimes played a decisive role in changing the attitudes to the reality. But, as Mariana Zinchuk said, the study of random events in the life of separate subgroup should help to recreate the social identity of the whole group<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Lysenko, O. “Istoriya povsyakdennya yak haluz’ naukovoho znannya (povsyakdenna istoriya viyny: metodolohichni notatky)” in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka...* (Pereyaslav-Khmel’nyts’kyy, 2010), 12.

<sup>2</sup> Tylor, Edward. *Primitive culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art, and custom*. In two volumes. Volume 1. (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1891), 12.

<sup>3</sup> Zinchuk, M. “Istoriya povsyakdennosti yak novyy napryam humanitarnykh doslidzhen” in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka...* (Pereyaslav-Khmel’nyts’kyy, 2010), 50.

## **POLTAVA SPI AS AN EXEMPLARY SUBJECT**

According to pretty understandable logic, I have chosen Poltava V. G. Korolenko SPI as the localized community for the correlations of the conclusions made after work with the bulk of all-Ukraine documents. Speaking about the reasons for choosing it as the narrow subject of study, I won't go on with patriotic phrases trying to show its uniqueness and excellence in the circle of the pedagogical institutes of the country of the mid-XXth century.

From one hand, Poltava SPI was among the leaders of teacher's education of the era of de-Stalinization. For example, in the 1955-1956 academic year. It was on the fourth position among 37 pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR by the number of students (3 thousand 647 people or 4% of all future teachers of the country<sup>1</sup>). In 1956, 250 freshmen students entered the institute. It was significant number out of 6 thousand 525 of the youth applying to the universities. The higher index showed only Crimean, Vinnytsya, Voroshylovhrad, Kyiv and Nizhyn SPIs<sup>2</sup>. Network of the consulting offices of the correspondence department of Poltava SPI concentrated in Poltava, Kremenchuk, Lubny and Hadyach<sup>3</sup>, occasionally growing and including Myrhorod, Opishne, Hlukhiv and Nizhyn<sup>4</sup>. It was the fourth biggest network of such offices in Ukraine conceding only to Vinnytsya, Kyiv and Kharkiv SPIs.

On the other hand, all these unique characteristics of Poltava institute disappeared if we resorted to the analysis of the admission campaign in pedagogical universities of the country. Various universities occasionally were raised to the top of the lists on the wave of popularity. So Poltava SPI entered the top five and then lost the palm equally frequently. As an illustration we can recall the first post-Stalin admission campaign when the Poltava Pedagogical Institute was not among universities to which the students were standing in long lines. In return, the Ministerial report named the leaders –Kharkov SPIFL (where the 'demand' for student places exceeded proposition 3.5 times) and Kyiv SPI (where 1550 applicants were competing for 550 seats in 1953). However, Poltava SPI was not also among the "outsiders" of the education market, among which at the beginning of de-Stalinization one could find Uzhhorod where young people filled only 79% of student places. Poltava was the model of the Ministerial "golden mean", when there

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<sup>1</sup> TsDAVO, f. 4621, op. 7, spr. 18, ark. 2.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 517, ark.36.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 498, ark.6.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 602, ark.5.

were a little bit than two times more people were trying to enter the institute than it was ready to accept<sup>1</sup>.

Another reason for Poltava SPI to be chosen for such a “pattern-maker” was because it went through the period of merging of universities without significant losses. It was quite important because, for example, Ismail SPI became a part of Odessa institute; Berdychiv SPI was attached to Vinnytsya one and Dnipropetrovsk higher pedagogical school merged with Horlivka establishment<sup>2</sup>. However, it is worth mentioning that the campaign of reorganization doesn't tell about the exclusivity of Poltava SPI. It just remained the only higher pedagogical institution of the region, while in other regions, where such reductions were held there were several of them.

In some way, Poltava SPI was one of the first in testing of educational reforms of the government. It was among the leaders in admission of students to the new specialties<sup>3</sup>. The Order of the Ministry №838 from 14 August 1957 in connection with polytechnic education opened the departments of the bases of production only in Poltava and two other universities of the UkrSSR – in Vinnytsya and Kharkiv<sup>4</sup>. Poltava SPI for long years was the center of retraining of teachers of biology and chemistry, not only from Poltava, but also from Stanislav, Stalino and Kharkiv regions<sup>5</sup>. The Ministry preferred the educational base of Poltava SPI (as well as Kyiv, Stalino and Luhans'k SPIs) when organizing the teaching of tutors of industrial training among specialists from agriculture sector for schools of 12 regions of the UkrSSR<sup>6</sup>. And thanks to its teachers, Poltava Institute was part of the five universities of the country spreading pedagogical knowledge among the population due to organized and then very progressive Parental Lecture Rooms<sup>7</sup>.

So, from one hand, it was really unique and advanced educational institution that could be taken as an example of the leaders of education at the time of Khrushchev. Perhaps it would be so if by the end of the period after all achievements, teachers of the institution had not said that Poltava SPI occupied one of the last places in the UkrSSR in terms of students' successes<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 105, ark. 16-19.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 190, ark. 26.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 570, ark.3-6.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 570, ark.19.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 655, ark.5-9.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 750, ark.28.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 595, ark. 2.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 847, ark.41.

I hope this turn to the description of Poltava pedagogical institute made it clear that I had no desire to portray “the messianic role” of my alma mater when I narrowing a subject of the research in some places of this monograph. Frankly speaking, sometimes when I observed the difference between what was in reality in everyday life of the institution during the “thaw” and what it was said about it in the official reports I tried to keep my irony far deep inside not to throw away any wish to be a historian and analyst and abstained from taking a sharp pen of journalist-critic instead.

However, the purpose of this “descent to the bottom” was to learn the team of the teacher and students of the SPI from the standpoint of anthropology. Although classical anthropology used to work with the research of the primitive societies, there are frequent fact of the connections of anthropologists with the military in the study of historical development of the mentality and characteristics of people<sup>1</sup>. So I itched to use a rich arsenal of this science in looking at teaching staff of pedagogical institute as the very real group of people that was developing over time with its fears, beliefs and ideals. Each separate one could be even rather be considered as a kind of “separate culture”. Moreover, it is interesting to find links of it with other social structures that coexisted with the collective of Pedagogical Institute. The anthropology already had works in the same research direction by Donald McLeod. He stepped to the study of the lives of two business offices in London as of two micro cultures with the unique characteristics against the background of global changes<sup>2</sup>.

In the end let me recall William Shakespeare’s words said that long before the “anthropological turn” in historical study stating that history lives in each of us:

*“There is a history in all men's lives,  
Figuring the nature of the times deceased;  
The which observed, a man may prophesy,  
With a near aim, of the main chance of things  
As yet not come to life, which in their seeds  
And weak beginnings lie intreasured<sup>3</sup>.”*

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<sup>1</sup> Welze, L. “Antonius C.G.M. Robben (ed.), Iraq at a distance: what anthropology can teach us about the war (Review)”, *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. II, 2010, no. 1-2, 96-98.

<sup>2</sup> Macleod, D. “Office Politics: Power in the London Salesroom”, *JASO*, Vol. XXIX, 1998, no. 3, 213-229.

<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare, William. King Henry IV. The Second Part (New York: The University Society, 1901), 73.

## AT THE INTERSECTION OF TIME AND SPACE

Knowing what and whom we are going to describe, we need to “connect” ourselves to time and space, so the everyday being of the heroes of that monograph indeed was a being according all philosophical laws. First let’s talk about the time. The central time-scale of this study unites the years of the so-called “Khrushchev’s thaw” or “The Great Decade.” What are “the time banks” limiting our study? According to the long ago established historiographical tradition of the post-Soviet countries, de-Stalinization is counted from the death of Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953 until the “voluntarily” resignation of Nikita Khrushchev “because of the state of his health on 14 October 1964.

However, this definition of the chronological limits makes again clearly visible the impact of ubiquitous Soviet political history onto the current researchers. Changing of the way of everyday life becomes bound to the change of the state leaders. And the period of the “thaw” turned to be divided into sub-periods according to the turning points in political life of the USSR. Among these dividers of time we find the death of Stalin in 1953, the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, the exposing of the “anti-party group” in 1957, the Twenty Second Congress of the CPSU in 1961 and so on.

In the mentioned study<sup>1</sup>, Mykola Breheda used the same frameworks and divisions focused on political change, but not of the specifics of the evolution of the attitude of the citizens of the country to the power. It would be logical to determine turning points of the vision changes of people of different problems but not to lock the problem in the cage of the politics. I believe that the attitude to the “Leader of Nations” Stalin didn’t change immediately on 5 March when he died. It didn’t break into pieces completely right after the Twentieth Party Congress when Khrushchev delivered his speech, too. But such temporal gradation used by the author in his monograph helps to understand not so much a Human but a stimulus of his response generated by the events above.

Other scientists interpret the limits of the “thaw” somewhat differently. So, Elena Ryapolova linked the period of 1953-1964 years not only with changes of the political leaders, but also with “new dynamics of the social face<sup>2</sup>” still using the same old-established watersheds of the years 1956, 1957 and 1961. But she claimed

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<sup>1</sup> Breheda, Mykola. *Protses destalinizatsiyi i suspil’ni nastroyi ukrayins’koho naseleण्या u 1953-1964 rr.: Monohrafiya.* (Mykolayiv, 2010), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ryapolova, Elena. *Obshchestvenno-politicheskie i sotsiokul’turnye protsessy v hode khrushchevskoy «otpepli» 1953-1964 gg. (Po materyalam Kubani),* (Ph.D. diss., Krasnodar, 2003).

in the title the description of social and cultural processes in the connection to the political life. However, a very similar explanation of the usage of political boundaries in the study of everyday life was offered by Anna Grigoryeva. She tried attribute the political evolution with the “birth of the new<sup>1</sup>” in all spheres of life. These two researches have inside the same chronological division held under the old-fashioned government changes. But they at least laid the foundation for the need of the “new chronology” tied to the man, not the state.

Of the rest, we should not discard the political component in the life of the politicized society in the Soviet Union. It is even more impossible to go away from it in studying of changes in the everyday perception of the politicians by the educators, even under cover of all possible “methodological turns” in history. Moreover, some prominent anthropologists (known in Ukraine as one of the fiercest opponents of “political monopoly” in history) in their studies often resort to strict chronological periods, tied to political change<sup>2</sup>.

The “strict” time frame of this work is to be determine not by the political boundaries, but by the purely calendar merges – January 1, 1953 and December 31, 1964. People used to start the countdown of changes to daily life on the calendar: to start the diet from Monday, to buy a save money with the new month, to quit smoking from the first day of the new year etc. So I strongly recommend to use not political but the seasonal calendar defining chronological banks of the changes in the everyday.

Of course, the fiftieth significantly different from the harsh thirties when famines and purges could quickly change human loyalty to the authorities towards the full hatred of the State. Up to the middle of the XX century, the Great War had already finished, they once made humans turn all their shock and pain into patriotism and desire to preserve the country and its leaders as the symbols of something close and native. The beginning of 1950’s was probably one of the most stable times in terms of changing of people’s minds. “The Sun of Stalin” was warming everyone, instilling confidence in the future. It is really hard to argue with this statement: the totalitarianism spawned if not real then at least an illusory stability.

However, in finding the motives of teachers’ deeds and words at the time of de-Stalinization, immersing in the events of the period since January 1953 is not

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<sup>1</sup> Grihor’eva, Anna. *Sovetskaya povsednevnost’ i uroven’ zhyzni naseleniya SSSR v 1953-1964 gg.* (Ph. D. diss., Moscow, 2003), 206.

<sup>2</sup> Barnes, R. H. “Thomas K. Kavanagh. *Comanche Political History: An Ethnohistorical Perspective 1706-1875* (Review)”, *JASO*, Vol. XXIX, 1998, no. 3, 276-277.

enough. Sometimes the brief excursion in the years not too far from the post-Stalinist reforms in the Soviet Union will be useful. Very often the chronological limits of the study were broadened by the memories of the witnesses. These “time-dives” were rare; however, many respondents touched their childhood, when their world outlook and their values were formed to be shaped during studying in the pedagogical institutes. This childhood accounted for a rather complex years branded with the seal of Stalinism. So the narrative turn into the times was justified in terms of psychohistory. As Nataliya Yakovenko said, this discipline often lacked analysis of the real memories of childhood of the eyewitnesses of the events but not just researching of references, immortalized in written sources<sup>1</sup>.

Thus the general framework– the twelve years between 1953 and 1964 – should not be an insurmountable barrier to study the everyday world of people. They are, if you want, only the cells under a microscope the researcher. And seeing them, we should not forget that they are only a part of something larger and too complex than a single cell of the “great decade”.

I must also resort to the problems of internal chronology of this monograph. On the one hand, I have the full right could use the traditional, well-established pattern by which the division if made at several periods: from 1953 to the Twentieth Party Congress and from 1956 to 1964. Somewhat fresh variations of chronology suggests Petro Kyrydon, drawing attention to the need to add to the chronological distribution period not only the year 1961 (XXII Congress of the CPSU, after which Stalin’s body was taken out of Mausoleum), but also the year 1957 (Khrushchev’s struggle for power with Zhukov, Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich) and also to take into account the heterogeneous 1953 (liquidation of Beria)<sup>2</sup>.

This chronological search is a good offer to the scientist, but it is based exclusively on the political component of the history. If it were cardinally important for this study, the next 5 period division of the evolution of teachers’ political consciousness according to the change of leaders of state would be true:

- 1) The period of Joseph Stalin (until March 5, 1953);
- 2) The days of Georgiy Malenkov (March 5, 1953 – February 8, 1955);
- 3) The everyday under Nikolai Bulganin (February 8, 1955 – March 27, 1958);

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<sup>1</sup> Yakovenko, Natalya. *Vstup do istoriyi* (Kyiv, 2007), 295.

<sup>2</sup> Kyrydon, Petro. “Destalinizatsiya v Ukrayini: perspektyvni problemy doslidzhennya” in *Ukrayina. XX stolittya: kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka*, Vypusk. 10 (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2006), 224-225.



– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

4) The routine and Nikita Khrushchev's rule (March 27, 1958 – October 14, 1964);

5) The life during Alexei Kosygin (from 14 October 1964).

However, this classification, in turn, rises to more confusion: who should we define as “the major one” for such sorting – the head of the Soviet government or the Party boss? If the second is true, the chain of chronology becomes even shorter:

1) The time of Joseph Stalin (until March 5, 1953);

2) The “great decade” of Nikita Khrushchev (March 5, 1953 – October 14, 1964);

3) The start-up of Leonid Brezhnev (from 14 October 1964).

Or perhaps we should separate the periods of every-day life during the “thaw” according to the person who played the key role in the proceedings of de-Stalinization? Then we could get lost in the correct order of Beria, Malenkov and Khrushchev...

But if we orient onto the political history as the foundation of the study of everyday perception of the world, is it necessary to finally start learning de-Stalinization in Ukraine through a change in the power Olympus of the Ukrainian SSR, but not the Soviet Union? Maybe it is better to look at changes in the country from the standpoint of alternating the heads of the Ukrainian Government? Then we have four periods of the evolution of the consciousness in different circumstances:

1) The life under Dmytro Korotchenko (until 1954) (it could be considered a phase of changing material conditions of life, that means the evolution of the views of the Ukrainian citizens on the state and power. It prevents from searching for tragic views on the death of Stalin, or their support of massacre over Beria);

2) The everyday in the days of Nykyfor Kalchenko (1954-1961) (as the main formative stage of all the positive and negative effects of the economy, daily life and religion in the UkrSSR, and not going through the attitudes towards the political opposition in the USSR);

3) The years of Volodymyr Shcherbytskyi (1961-1963) (as a time of double standards and hidden (and obvious?) opposition to the “colonial” center in Moscow);

4) The routine of educators under the rule of Ivan Kazanets (from 1963) (as a period of the climax of the new crisis and stagnation period, so it is not tied

solely to the figures of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, who tore their direct relationship with the UkrSSR long before that).

Alternatively, if they tend to operate more with the standards of politically oriented classification of the everyday, is it necessary to pay attention to the Ukrainian, not to the All-Union leaders of the Communist Party? Isn't it more significant variant for division the chronology of de-Stalinization in the UkrSSR because the republican Party leaders showed the increasing status of Ukrainian politicians and their transfer to higher positions in the Union government? The “national political component” of the de-Stalinization in the UkrSSR shades its unique color – different from the general Union process of change.

Using the pair “political figure-period of time,” we could spread changes of attitude of the population to the reforms in the following “nationally-colored” chronological groups:

- 1) The perception of the everyday under the rule of Leonid Melnykov (by June 1953 (and we do not cling to the death of Stalin or Beria case. The rule of Melnykov also was marked by the beginning of the transition from crisis to the “thaw” at least in the national question<sup>1</sup>);
- 2) The routine during Oleksiy Kyrychenko (June 1953 – December 1957) (we are not tied to the destruction of “anti-party group” within the Union and to the duality of the situation in the USSR with simultaneous liberalization and the formation of a new Khrushchev's autocracy. The UkrSSR under Kyrychenko had its own “thaw” in culture, in party work, in the field of Ukrainian language and in rehabilitation<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, O. Kyrychenko not less than Khrushchev had a personal duality in behavior keeping inside his mind great “Stalinist baggage”<sup>3</sup>);
- 3) The everyday of Mykola Pidhornyi's UkrSSR (December 1957 – June 1963 (so we won't search the ghosts of the XXII Congress under each archival sheet analyzing the consciousness changes of the educators. That would be even more significant connection because M. Pidhornyi became a symbol of the democratization of management style long before the

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<sup>1</sup> Vasyl'yev, V. “Pershi sekretari obkomiv Kompartiyi Ukrayiny v radyans'kiy upravlins'kiy systemi (ser. 50-kh – pochatok 60-kh rr. XX st.)” in *Ukrayina XX st.: kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka*, 2009, no. 15, 318.

<sup>2</sup> Bazhan, Oleh. “Petro Shelest: vyhnannya z politychnoho Olimpu” in *Istoriya Ukrayiny: Malovidomi imena, podiyi, fakty. (Zb. st.)*, 2010, no. 36, 328.

<sup>3</sup> Tabachnyk, Dmyro, Shapoval, Yuriy. O.I.Kyrychenko: shtrykhy do politychnoho portreta pershooho sekretarya TsK Kompartiyi Ukrayiny v 1953-1957 rr. (Kyiv: Instytut istoriyi AN URSR, 1990), 17.

removal of the body of the “leader of the peoples” Stalin out of the Mausoleum<sup>1</sup>);

- 4) Petro Shelest’s period (from July 1963) (and thus we won’t finish the description of the “thaw” in Ukraine with the removal of Khrushchev in 1964 prolonging the at least till “the party nationalist”<sup>2</sup> Shelest was “reduced to the rank of the party candidate” being accused in so-called “dual loyalty” to the national interests of the UkrSSR and to the Kremlin).

I will leave these thoughts for another scientific work. Here they only help to find out that the established approaches to the internal chronology of the “thaw” in the UkrSSR and even more to the chronology of changes in public attitudes to life cannot be based on political grounds. One of them is too wide and do not touch the essential Ukraine’s every day, another are not fully established in the current historiography.

Of course, the direction of social policy somewhat varied depending on who was at the helm of the country. However, describing evolution of the political consciousness, I will count on the decisions of the Twentieth Congress which began unprecedented political changes in the country. But was it a turning point for the alteration of educators’ everyday life? Or, maybe, it changed their attitude to work on the ground? or it was fundamental in solving the language problem? I strongly believe that in most of cases political history has no right to impose its timeline to the study of everyday.

During the study of changes in the everyday world of educators I faced with the examples, when the internal chronology of every problem varied inside itself because teachers’ attention to each question differed with time. The research of the everyday problems of the educators of the “thaw” made me propose historical model of evolution of the collective consciousness. It highlights the main stages of the problem. There are usually three of them: the transition crisis period, the main forming and renewal adaptive ones.

Their selection of such three periods was not a whim or blindness breakdown of the “thaw” in random intervals. Chronology of each problem took place only when I could follow certain patterns within the same block of questions. I tried to analyze the evolution not of economic and political changes in the country but the process of development of thinking of teachers. So it is a priori not tied to the political transformations such as Party Congresses of changing of the leaders unless

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<sup>1</sup> Nikolay Podgorniy. *Prezident Sovetskogo Soyuza*. (Production: Film.ua (Ukraine), 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Petrovs’kyi, V., Radchenko, L., Semenko, V. *Istoriya Ukrayiny: neuperedzhenyi pohlyad: faky. Mify. Komentari*. (Kharkiv, SHKOLA, 2007), 501.

they were the watersheds in the process. However, when saw a frank chronological link between the boundaries of the inner chronology with authoritative decisions; I resorted to content-analyses of the current university documents. It was done to compared the peaks of activity of the educators with the decline of their interest to the studied issue for during the learnt years. Of course, one can argue that analyzed documentation was not devoid of political component. However, I note that I do not frustrate the political particle in the chronological division. Instead, it takes far not the last a place in the definition of change of the consciousness of the staffs of pedagogical universities.

To explain the interference of the state and collectives of educators from the standpoint of political science, I have chosen the original theory of the political system by David Easton<sup>1</sup>. I'm using the basic principles of it in evaluating of all sides of every-day life of teachers and students during the "thaw". The whole process of Changes in the living conditions of the Pedagogical Institutes' collectives of the Ukrainian SSR can be shown as one system. Their content is the formation of a new perspective of the studied problem. The main actors moving the system are the State, the Pedagogical Institutes and the Society. It is the power that mainly defines the patterns of the everyday in the Soviet Union. The scheme can function only with the providing of information communication between all players on that field. All the changes became possible thanks to specific conditions created by the state. The reaction of the educators was defined as the technologies. With their help staffs tried to shape their every-day being according to the terms provided. In most cases each condition had the specific "answer" in the form of technologies.

In these schemes, I mean that crisis transitional period accumulates the issues of teachers' attitude to the studied phenomena. They become much more clearly defined. There are seen the first attempts to solve them. Actions of people during the crisis transitional period are generally poorly motivated, plans are vague, and the explanations of the reactions are mostly absent. If people respond to the problem during that stage, it is mostly done according to the samples of the previous epoch using motivations from the characteristics of consciousness of the "preliminary" design.

The main formatting phase reveals the problem most significantly. It already fully appears before the studied group and requires immediate resolution. During this period, they resort to the correlation of minds whether under the influence of

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<sup>1</sup> Easton, David, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: John Wiley, 1965).

state coercion, or under the influence of circumstances. The response of the teams is clear, explicable and has a defined aim in time.

Last, renewal adaptive stage combines the actions of members of the studied group associated with the use of new rules and regulations made in the formatting period. If there are some alterations in their behavior different from those we saw in the previous period of time, they mostly help to adjust to the environment created during the preceding stage of evolution. Instead there are hardly found any radical transformations. An exception may be the last years (days, weeks, etc.) of the adaptive period. Then, under the dialectical laws, the temporary solutions of the problem themselves become contradictions to be resolved, and therefore reveal stage of tone evolution period becomes a crisis stage for another one.

To finish the discussion about the chronology, I will summarize three main thoughts. Firstly, the heroes of my stories will act in strict calendar time from 1953 to 1964. Secondly, sometimes I will resort to the excursions to both the past and the future; and, at last, the interior chronology of each studied problem will differ because of its semantic content.

### **THE SPACE LIMITS**

To be fair to the end, the “geography” of my subject of study – of the consciousness – did not stretch farther than one’s mind or rather a world of ideas of each separate student or a lecturer of every SPI. However, such “limits” will better suit the scripts of psychological thriller than for scientific studies.

So I one more time explain why I the only Poltava Pedagogical Institute sometimes is used to talk about the specific changes of the worldview of the higher pedagogical schools across the UkrSSR. Scientific research precedents say that there is a strong practice for such narrowing. My predecessors deliberately and quite logically resorted to the study of all evident documents across the country for re-creating the pattern of life of the state. The recent researcher of the everyday Vitaliy Vovk mainly focused on seven central regions of Ukraine picturing life and leisure of the urban population of the UkrSSR of 1950-1980s<sup>1</sup>. his colleague Olena Isaykina took Kyiv, Donetsk and Cherkasy regions for the same narrative but about the years of 1945-1955<sup>2</sup>. And Lyudmyla Romanets described Kyiv and Vinnytsya

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<sup>1</sup> Vovk, Vitaliy. *Pobut ta dozvillya mis'koho naseleння Ukrainy v 50-80-kh rokakh XX stolittya* (PhD diss., Kyiv, 2007), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Isaykina, Olena. *Pobut i dozvillya mis'koho naseleння Ukrainy v povoyenny period (1945-1955 rr.)*, (PhD diss., Kyiv, 2006), 4.

studying the life of teachers of public schools of after-War decade. She specially noted that the focus of her research was turned to the central regions of the UkrSSR because various aspects of life of teaching in Western Ukraine had their own peculiarities and differences that were worthy of a separate study<sup>1</sup>. Of the rest, all of them, having looked at separate regions, broadened the geographical boundaries of defined territory to the whole Ukraine.

Following Clifford James Geertz, I agree that it would be absurdity of trying to bring the whole UkrSSR to the only Poltava, and all pedagogical universities to one Poltava SPI. However we should not forget his comparison saying that anthropologists are the miniaturists if the social sciences who hope to find in the small fact that eludes from them in the big one<sup>2</sup>. The great example of such “scientific jeweler” is Ariel Rittersmit who considers the development of Chinese medicine in the modern globalized world. However, she chose only one experiment localization in Singapore using anthropological research methods such as interviews and observation. That gave her real basis for grounded conclusions<sup>3</sup>. Do remember as well Daniel Miller’s monograph on the development of the world capitalism through approx of anthropology<sup>4</sup>. We can argue what dominates in his study – his own “voice of the ethnographer” or the voices of people of Trinidad – but the main point is that the whole research is based only on the facts one country’s reality<sup>5</sup>. I am convinced too that global processes may be characterized in the research light of specific institutions, for, as is seen from David Sutton’s papers, the local is in the framework of the global dialogue<sup>6</sup>.

Therefore, I can say with complete certainty that the proposed mosaic descriptions of the changes of the consciousness of the staff of Poltava SPI can be interpreted as changes in worldview of all pedagogical universities of the UkrSSR. For those who do not recognize the anthropological approach I will make several remarks instead to convince in the representative ability of Poltava high school.

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<sup>1</sup> Romanets', Lyudmyla. Vchyteli zahal'noosvitnikh shkil URSR pislyavoyennoho periodu (1945 – dr. pol. 1950-kh rokiv): sotsial'nyy status ta povsyakdenne zhyttya, (PhD diss., Cherkasy, 2010), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Delyezh, Robert. Narisy z istoriyi antropolohiyi: Shkoly. Avtory. Teoriyi (Kyiv: Vyd. dim: Kyevo-Mohylyans'ka akademiya, 2008), 117.

<sup>3</sup> Rittersmith, A. “Contextualising Chinese medicine in Singapore microcosm and macrocosm” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no.1, 1-24.

<sup>4</sup> Miller, Daniel. *Capitalism: An Ethnographic Approach* (Explorations in Anthropology) (Berg Publishers (1997)

<sup>5</sup> Patico, J. “Daniel Miller, *Capitalism: An Ethnographic Approach* (Reviewe)” in *JASO*, Vol. XXX, 1999, no. 1, 75-77.

<sup>6</sup> Sutton, David E. *Memories Cast in Stone: The Relevance of the Past in Everyday Life*. (Oxford: Berg 1998).

The first relates to its staff. During the years of the “thaw” (as well as now) life of the educators was based on the well-known Ukrainian proverb “Fish is looking for where is deeper, and the man – where is better”. So, the pedagogical institute had a noticeable flow rate. During the period from 1953 to 1964 among people working at the university there were those who came not only from more than 20 regions of the UkrSSR, but also from the fraternal socialist republics. So they brought into the team of Poltava SPI the moods that dominated in the regions from which they came. No fewer numbers traveled from the university to different research and educational institutions of other areas, “dispersing” the outlook Poltavites.

The ordinary business trips of the teachers of Poltava SPI across Ukraine for different purposes were also very frequent. They visited cities and villages with inspections and lectures, which certainly played a role in enriching the coloring of their reactions with the samples of attitude from other groups and regions. Not less “cultural exchange” was experienced by the students during the long annual agricultural or industrial practices in urban and rural areas, not only of the Poltava region, but of all the UkrSSR. After practicing, youth often returned to institute with the views on old problems “updated” with the help of local specifics.

However, some picky readers will not consider that to be enough so I also analyzed documents and materials from pedagogical universities of all across the UkrSSR – from Chernihiv to the Crimea going from north to south, and from Donetsk to Uzhhorod wondering from east to west. Hope, this reinforces the belief that the monograph can speak for changes of consciousness of the educators of the whole country in 1950 – 1960.

Speaking of the UkrSSR as a “field of play” of the actors of that thesis, we must understand its geography, which was slightly different from the present. By the last days of life of the “collector of the Ukrainian lands” (as Stalin was styled in press), Ukraine had more or less well established in its present-day borders. It consisted from 25 regions. Among the “extra ones” by the standards of modern atlases, there was Drohobych oblast in the west, Izmail oblast in the south and Kamianets-Podilskyi region with the administrative center in Proskuriv (later renamed in Khmelnytskyi). One would seek Donetsk region on that-day maps in vain. By 1961, it proudly bore the name of Stalin in honor of the region’s main city, Stalino. There was no Luhans’k region as well: it appeared only in 1958 replacing “politically incorrect” Voroshylovhrad oblast. In the fifties there wasn’t also the Ivano-Frankivsk region (until 1962 it was called Stanislav oblast), as well as Khmelnytskyi region (which arose from Kamianets-Podilskyi oblast in 1954 in

honor of the 300th anniversary of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Pereyaslav Treaty with Moscow).

On these pages, mentioning the regions and the cities, I will use their names depending on the time of events, so they could be different from the geographic boundaries and names familiar to us, living in a very different political day. So it is better get used, for example, to the austere of youth of Zhdanov instead of modern-day Mariupol or to understand that students and teachers of Osypenko SPI were the same who then worked and studied at Berdyansk Pedagogical Institute, for when the merits of military pilot Polina Osypenko were forgotten, the district center was again re-named into Berdyansk.

Ironically to the political events of 2016 with the Russian occupation of Crimea, but the modern reader, if he found himself in our state in 1953, would not find Crimea in its atlas too (but was not present either as region or as autonomous republic). The peninsula with the status of autonomy was part of the neighboring Russian SFSR. The geographical changes happened during the celebration of the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the “reunification” of Ukraine with Tsardom of Muscovy. It was then when the Crimean region appeared on the map of the UkrSSR. The need to take the peninsula out of the greatest economic and cultural pitch which Russian SFSR couldn't overcome was covered under the ideological slogans. Simultaneously with it, Cherkasy oblast was created from the “cut-outs” of Kyiv, Poltava and Kirovohrad regions<sup>1</sup>.

So it was that Ukraine being traveled over by the heroes of the description at the beginning of 1953. In last days of the “thaw” their Ukraine was already different from the one they had in the last days of Stalin's rule. It was already well established within its borders, to which we got used to from school textbooks on geography. Drohobych oblast merged with Lviv region, Izmail oblast dissolved in Odessa one. Donetsk was already called Donetsk, Luhans'k was Luhans'k, and Ivano-Frankivsk was Ivano-Frankivsk...

As many conclusions were made on the bases of the regional press, let's take a step from the heights of the state division to the description of the Poltava region. In 1956, there were 1 million 600 thousand inhabitants there, 97% of which were Ukrainians. Around 129 thousand people lived in Poltava of that time<sup>2</sup>. Our heroes often went to the districts of Poltava regions in university businesses (lectures or

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<sup>1</sup> “Zakon pro vnesennya zmin i dopovnen' u st. 18 Konstytutsiyi (Osnovnoho Zakonu) Ukrayins'koyi RSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 19, 1953. No.125, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Kolomiyets', M. F. *Poltavs'ka oblast'*. (Kharkiv: Vydannytstvo Kharkivs'koho ordena Trudovoho Chervonoho Prapora Derzhavnoho universytetu im. O. M. Hor'koho, 1959), 23.



consultations) or for state orders (harvesting or propaganda) as well as in personal matters. Therefore, in order to navigate in some of their routes we need occasionally refer to the map. At the time of Stalin's death. There were 44 districts in Poltava region that did not remain constant until today. The wave of reforms of de-Stalinization also re-shaped region's geography. At the end of the "thaw" oblast areas "gave" some certain to Cherkasy region (Helmyazivka and Drabivka), other were "enlarged" with the territory of neighboring districts (Petrovo-Romenske and Pokrovska Bahachka areas)<sup>1</sup>.

Let's narrow the geography to the city of Poltava, where our model Pedagogical Institute was located. Speaking of life of students and teachers in the regional center on the banks of the river Vorskla, I will often resent to the names of "local geography". According to the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR "On establishment inner districts in the city of Poltava..." from 12 April 1952, there were created in Zhovtnevyi, Leninskyi and Kyivskyi districts. But the name of the district "Zhovtnevyi", where Poltava SPI was situated, was not very popular in the Russified country. The official documents in Ukrainian and in the everyday communication often called it according to the Russian translation – Oktyabrskyi ("October"). The city center, now a Corps Garden (and then – Zhovtnevyi park), was close to the main streets on which the lives of students and teachers of Poltava SPI were flowing: M. Ostrohradskyi Street and H. Skovoroda Street. Of course, the future teachers wandered in other alleys, but these two streets were the locations of academic buildings of the Institute. Who cares to look at these places, I recommend to go online and look at a map of the city on Google Earth. Believe that Poltava Pedagogical Institute is still on the same place as it was in the mid-twentieth century, so the "effect of presence" will be fully reached.

### **THE "NEED-TO-DO LIST" OF THE EVERYDAY STUDIES**

The study of everyday is so unexpected in the discoveries it can differ from the final list of tasks explained in the conclusions of the research can vary significantly from what the researcher planned to see at the beginning of his work. The main reason for that is the unpredictability of the sources: you never know until the end, what range of information they will reveal to you. Sometimes it forces abruptly turn from the seemingly clearly visible research road into the opposite direction.

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<sup>1</sup> Administratyvnyi podil Poltavs'koyi oblasti

URL: [http://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Адміністративний\\_поділ\\_Полтавської\\_області](http://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Адміністративний_поділ_Полтавської_області)

My previous work on the everyday<sup>1</sup> touched the different spheres of educators' life: agriculture, language and family... They together seemed more like a mosaic, rather than the solid canvas. So the study of everyday life was similar to speaking about quite broad circle of issues. That problem of researches on every day, actually, looks not so troublesome if to remember the words of John Lukacs saying that sarcastic remarks of the nineteenth century thought about the expert being someone who knows more and more about less and less is no longer true because now we have intellectuals and professionals who know less and less about more and more<sup>2</sup>.

One of the main components of such studies was the presentation of each problem in the lives of teachers as a system that would show main actors, their goals and results of activities, conditions and technologies that affect the changes in their outlook, and which could illustrate the phasing of changes. That approach was aimed either to confirm or deny the fact that feelings of teachers and students were largely personal and sincere but prescribed by society through the necessary of the behavior as anticipated by Marcel Mauss<sup>3</sup>. And, then, looking at the patterns of the behavior, to find out what kind of team was the collective of educators according to the gradation of Emile Durkheim – the collective of mechanical or organic solidarity?<sup>4</sup> If they were in the first group they should have shown a peculiar similarity of feelings, the subordination to the community in which the individual did not belong to himself. If the educators formed the second-type group, they were to bear almost entirely opposite qualities.

The task of describing the daily life in Higher Pedagogical Schools the UkrSSR is quite broad and requires the most attention. In the first monograph on the topic, I tried to answer the question whether the SPI was really the “second home” for youth and teachers as they referred to it? Did the educators feel themselves warm and cozy inside, because it certainly affected the world of their interpersonal relationships and attitude to the Soviet reality? A direct consequence of these reflections grew into the study of the role of welfare itself. The great

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<sup>1</sup> Lukyanenko, Oleksandr, *In the Grip of De-Stalinization: Mosaics of Everyday Life of Pedagogical Institutes of the UkrSSR in 1953–1964* (Poltava, Publishing House “Simon”, 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Lukacs, John. *The Future of History* (New Haven & London: Yell University Press, 2011), 19.

<sup>3</sup> Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* [Translated by Ian Gunnison with an Introduction by E. Evans-Pritchard] (London: Cohen & West Ltd, 1966), 18.

<sup>4</sup> Gehlke, C. E. *Emile Durkheim's contributions to sociological theory.* (New York, 1915), 160-161.

examples of similar studies were already published by Alberto Jiménez<sup>1</sup>. Among the others, I discussed the question of housing and work, analyzed how eventful was the working time in the institute, how it was “clogged” by the party meetings and propaganda gatherings. I also looked at how fair was the financial evaluation of teachers and students labor. In complex it was a picture of transition from social hardship and suffering to a gradual revival of the institutes not only in the postwar years but also in returning to the normal life of scientific and educational elite of the UkrSSR. The picturing of the sudden moves from crisis to psychological and material renaissance inside the separated groups was enabled with the help of the related monographic research under the edition of Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman<sup>2</sup>. This aspect also moved to some interesting and small, but quite eloquent examples of so-called “history of things” once quested by Daniel Miller<sup>3</sup>. I resented to the analyses of how educators treated the world around them interpreting its components, using and producing goods themselves in the institute workshops. It was possible to describe how the educators transformed old cars and agricultural machinery.

There was also a dipping into the world of leisure of educators, relatively free of propaganda. The equality of material and the spiritual worlds in the lives of Soviet teachers was topical especially in the point whether there was a place to God in their communist world. Learning where educators spent their free time, I look at what role the street played in it. As Paul Connerton found out, the Street was gradually dying as a place of gathering of people and their socialization when it started to be displaced by the machines and motion<sup>4</sup>. However, the educators of the “thaw” showed that the Soviet street was alive and offered the variety of possibilities for leisure. Some notes were made on the particular role of dancing and music. Reading the lines of archival files and listening to the recollections of graduates and university teachers, I became more convinced that the dance was not only a manifestation of social creativity, but also political activity as William

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<sup>1</sup> Bruckermann, C. “Alberto Corsín Jiménez (ed.), *Culture and well-being: anthropological approaches to freedom and political ethics*, London: Pluto Press 2008, vii, 207 pp. (Review)” in *JASO-online. New Series*. Vol. I, 2009, no. 1, 96-98.

<sup>2</sup> Arora, V. “Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele, and Pamela Reynolds (eds), *Remaking the World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press 2001. viii, 294 pp., References (Review)” in *JASO*, Vol. XXXI, 2000, no. 1, 358-360.

<sup>3</sup> Bowsher, A. “Daniel Miller, *Stuff*, Cambridge and Malden: Blackwell and Polity Press 2009, vii, 169 pp. (Review)” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no. 2, 241-244.

<sup>4</sup> Costantino, Ivan. “Paul Connerton, *How modernity forgets* (Review)” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. II, 2010, no. 1-2, 87-90.

Washabaugh showed in his research<sup>1</sup>. In the same vein I continued talking about the style and fashion of educators. One more time I proved the words of Ive Raubisko on fashion's relationship with the psychology of society and the rules of the close-knit communities<sup>2</sup>.

The food status among students and teachers received a separate paragraph for no one repealed the law of meeting the primary needs one of which is the need for food. Without seeing its essence, it was difficult to talk about “higher” manifestations of consciousness of educators. I tried to look in unison at the link in the chain “power-society products”. Characterizing the Soviet reality, it was noticeable to use the reflections of Polly Weissner and Wulf Schiefenhovel in clarifying the social role and use of food products in the light of politics<sup>3</sup>. Our day Ukraine still has the practice of so-called “social election packages” where candidates for Members of Parliament put oil, buckwheat or other food “buying” that the socially unprotected electorate. The Soviet authorities also used products in manipulating the world-view of the public. Many prototypes of the conduct of the educators in the days of Khrushchev's “thaw” were similar to those seen by Marisa Wilson in one of the modern Cuban cities, where food became a means of state's influence due to lack<sup>4</sup> and also an abundance index in society<sup>5</sup>.

Along with food, there arose a problem of drinking among educators. However, we rather consider it from the perspective of deviant behavior as proposed in the collective monograph under the edition of I. Garine<sup>6</sup>. For we need to agree, that world of “deeds” under alcohol dependence is not the norm. The system of deviations in the teams of educators also depicted minor crimes, cheatings and interpersonal conflicts. Follows Bettina Schmidt and Ingo Schroeder<sup>7</sup> I emphasized that conflict were long, antagonistic, reflective processes that were

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<sup>1</sup> Liidtkke, Karen. “William Washabaugh. *Flamenco: Passion, Politics, and Popular Culture* (Review)” in *JASO*, Vol. XXVIII, 1997, . no. 2, 228-231.

<sup>2</sup> Raubisko, Ieva. “Proper ‘traditional’ versus Dangerous ‘new’ religious ideology and idiosyncratic Islamic practices in post-soviet Chechnya” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no. 1, 70-93.

<sup>3</sup> Boni, Stefano. “Polly Weissner and Wulf Schiefenhovel. *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Review)” in *JASO*, Vol. XXIX, 1998, no. 2, 174-176.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, Marisa. “Ideas and ironies of food scarcities and consumption in the moral economy of Tuta, Cuba” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no. 2, 161–178.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, Marisa. “Food as a good versus Food as a commodity contradictions between state and market in Tuta, Cuba” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no. 1, .25-51.

<sup>6</sup> Garine, Igor de, Garine, Valérie de. *Drinking: anthropological approaches (Anthropology of Food and Nutrition)* (Oxford: Berghahn books, 2001), 272.

<sup>7</sup> Arun, C. J. “Beitina E. Schmidt and Ingo W. Schroder (eds), *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*, London and New York: Routledge 2001. x, 229 pp., Index, References, Figures. (Review)” in *JASO*, Vol. XXXI, 2000, no. 1, 356-358.

not sudden emotional outbursts of people. An integral element of the research was in presence of liminality in these “social dramas” of de-Stalinization – being in social exile, as characterized by Victor Turner<sup>1</sup>.

One of the most dramatic issues of the everyday of educators in the UkrSSR was a question of national awareness and of the Ukrainian language. So I took a chance and look at the importance of language among teachers trying to describe when it was understood just as a means of communication and then when a crisis of language disappearance meant not only the elimination of a national component of the casual lives but also the death of the “national world” once described by David Harrison<sup>2</sup>.

That previous theoretical bases made it possible to complete the current study of the staffs of SPIs through its rituals that shaped that micro-society as well as the people inside it as stated by the works of Sean Landres<sup>3</sup>. So I tried to give a special weight to clarifying the place of political rituals in the lives of teachers as elements of routine influencing their perception of the state and politicians. In conjunction with this change I offer to look at the attitude of the educators to the images of the party leaders of the USSR. The book discusses the evolution of political consciousness on the examples of Joseph Stalin, Lavrentiy Beria, Georgiy Malenkov, Vyacheslav Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich and Georgiy Zhukov, also mentioning Nikita Khrushchev, Anastas Mikoyan and Leonid Brezhnev. Separate paragraph is devoted to the changes that suffered the Communist Party as an “independent player” in the circle of political leaders and one of the symbols of the state.

As you can see, the “historical menu” of the everyday studies is quite diverse. Reading it, one should know what ingredients the historian-chef “cooked” it from.

## SOURCES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

If I were asked from what one could revive the consciousness of the collectives of the past, I would say that from all that you can get in meticulously historical gathering and in ruthless scientific hunting. Yes, in meticulously

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<sup>1</sup> Turner, Victor. “Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality” in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 1979, no. 6/4, 465-499.

<sup>2</sup> Norum, R. K. “David Harrison, When languages die: the extinction of the world’s languages and the erosion of human knowledge, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007 (paperback 2008), xi, 292 pp. (Review)” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no. 1, 104-106.

<sup>3</sup> Landres, S. “Ritual and Civil Society: The Case of British Elites” in *JASO*, Vol. XXVIII, 1997, no. 2, 164.

collecting of the smallest and seemingly most unimportant facts and in the most unmerciful scientific hunt for all events which even smallest trace you were able to detect near the subject of your research. Re-creating everyday life, it's useless to hope that a dozen of sources will help to reveal the truth about the inner world of the studied group. The scientist should be ready that even after finishing the search and putting last stop mark in the book you could be forced to admit the erroneous of you seemingly undoubted views. And the reason could be in finding of some new and significant source. That is why here I need to stop on the question of sources in the historical research and mission of their classification in scientific explorations.

The classic explanation of the Ukrainian science why the paragraph like that needs to appear in the monographs is that classification shows analyticity intelligence of researcher and outlines the range of the used materials. Explaining what was in the basement of the “detective work” over the restoration of sentiments of people from the past, the simplest way to group sources according to the syntactic approach<sup>1</sup>. However, it tells the reader only about the forms that information is stored in this world grouping in physical, written, graphic sources, as well as in audio and photo documents. “Syntactic” classification of sources only simplifies the work of the researcher in grouping leaving a lot of questions to the readers similar to “I see myself what is the physical form of source: I am able to distinguish audio recording and handwritten autobiography. But what should I do with them next?” I believe that the estimation of analytical skills of the scientist should remain in the reviews of his scientific opponents while defending PhD thesis.

Pragmatic approach in classification helps to find out “the genre” of the source, its generic and specific features<sup>2</sup>. The researcher than unites sources in publicist and act, narrative and visual sources and more. It is one of the most common classifications in current Ukrainian historiography. I used it in my previous monograph on everyday as well. Undoubtedly, it helps future researchers in the mapping the way in the further related topics. Especially when such a brief gives a description where to go to get acquainted with a particular source, where to order it and in what form to work with it. However, in the case of research consciousness changes, that classification only shows the time researcher spent in archives, in reading rooms or near the computer monitor looking through the bulk

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<sup>1</sup> Koval'chenko, I.D. *Metody istoricheskoho issledovaniya* (Moscow: Nauka, 198), 122.

<sup>2</sup> Yakovenko, Natalya. *Vstup do istoriyi* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2007), 320.

of documents. I will say that the classification of sources should be provided not only for the classification itself. It is designed to facilitate further research in the field to the people working in the neighboring areas. Stepan Makarchuk, maybe, thinking the same way, advised to prefer problematic approach in the distribution sources<sup>1</sup>.

I believe that classification of sources must enhance the specification of the subject and familiarize with the methodology of the study. For this purpose it is even better to use not problematic but semantic approach<sup>2</sup>. To classify the sources one should group them according to the investigated issues and the relationship between documents, and the concepts occurring in them. Based on this connection and on the identity of the content and topics, all sources are combined in needed groups.

The following classification “destroys” the understanding of source as something solid as Ukrainian researches used to look at them in their studies. For example, the reader will not find here descriptions of the newspaper the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” (The Star of Poltava oblast) as the source of everyday of region’s inhabitants it could be according to the previous approaches. There is no need it stating the form, regularity of publishing as well as giving the short historical background on the periodicals. The above two methods of analysis made it possible to pay much attention to the coverage of importance of the memories or the archival funds comprehensively finding out their “donor potential” for quotations and excerpts of the current study. However, these descriptions, as for me, are the subjects of separate source studying editions.

### **THE SOURCES: SEMANTIC LEVEL**

To make the source “talk” of additional facts, it is necessary to distribute the materials according to their content. The earlier the “analytical mechanism” of the scientist switches on in withdrawing parts from the solid archival files, the easier and faster the processing will be. The further division of the sources according to the contexts also shows which component of the study needs strengthening with the research facts. The logic is simple: the fewer citations are in the “semantic block”, the less is its argumentativeness. So, in order to distribute the source for the content

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<sup>1</sup> Makarchuk, Stepan. *Pysemni dzherela z istoriyi Ukrayiny: Kurs lektsiy* (Lviv: Svit, 1999), 9.

<sup>2</sup> Landauer, T.K, Foltz, P.W., Laham, D. “An Introduction to Latent Semantic Analysis” in *Discourse Processes*, 1998, no. 25, 259-284.

they are looking for an answer to the question: “What does the source tell me about?”

In our study of political every day, we sort “information carriers” into two groups different because of the direction of information provided in them:

- sources describing the state of mind of teachers;
- sources picturing the impact on their consciousness.

Finding out the state of people’s minds we will look for information answering the question how the educators were living and how they were reacting to the changes in the country. This is revealed in human expression, a description of their actions, the outlines of their daily life without emphasis on directives of the authorities and targeted propaganda campaigns. These sources allow to make theoretical conclusions about the conditions in which the influence on the teams of educators occurred. These records typically are more like mini-novels: they have a story that attracts us, and colorful actors.

Sources describing the influence on consciousness keep the data that allows to find out what changed lives and provoked a reaction of people. Thus, they help to reveal the technologies of changing the world-view. Sources of this type are more like-a tutorial for the masses. These are short, pilotless, impersonal notes from like “DIY” instructions. They are mostly represented by the orders showing how people should behave in different situations, and making recommendations for actions.

Sometimes one source could present description of impact on the attitudes as well as of the state of the consciousness. This mostly is typical for the party documents and for the oral testimony of eye-witnesses. Usually, a description of life in them is inseparable from the desire to tell how to change it or how it was changed. Therefore I made above the comments on conditional integrity of the sources. If the same document on different pages gives an idea of how people lived and how the life was changed, we should not keep its unity. Historian with a confidence of the Hindu god Shiva has to destroy a sustainability of the forms of the source for the future birth of a new, holistic work of the scientific mind.

At the highest level of classification, we need a third group of sources. Frankly speaking, it is not necessary to look it up in any archive and newspaper. It is derived from the previous two and is born already after the analysis of the bulk of information that each of the researches is able to work out. These are quantitative (or kilometric) sources of all kinds. It includes content analysis of periodicals, documents of party meetings, current documentation, interview transcripts, factors and indicators of various calculations. In short, all the mathematical data which will



be possible to “squeeze” from the literary one. These sources are artificial; however, the conclusions made at their expense are equally important and talkative than tons of paper. And sometimes the number can tell you everything more concise and clear than a long list of examples, names and quotes.

### **PROBLEMATIC MICROANALYSIS OF THE SOURCES**

All further classification is very similar to working with glue and scissors, when one source can be located in two or more groups. Therefore, the main principle of classification may determine the principle of problematic microanalysis. So, to specify the research, we gradually distinguish even the smallest elements of the whole, and each of the selected units is analyzed individually within a whole. The sources cut like that help navigate in the causes and consequences of ideological changes seeing them with the naked eye.

The studying of collective consciousness forces to dig deeper. So you have to make some extra “sorting”. At this level the classification criteria is an informational direction of the sources. We are going to look for an answer to the question from where (from whom) and to where (to whom) the information directed.

What does this level of distribution give to the researcher? The previous – semantic – classification helped us learn about the conditions and technologies of the impact on the consciousness of the masses. That level will reveal the players on the historical chess-desk. Distribution of the “second level” will open the perpetrators of the events and determine the “victims” and “agents of influence”.

This distributor work is precisely not to be held in the cold of archives but already under the mild heat of your home table lamp. Each of the two previously selected groups should be divided into the following groups:

- sources illustrating official external level of influence onto the consciousness,
- sources illustrating the official internal of influence,
- individual,
- and mass level of influence onto the consciousness of the pedagogical staffs.

Frankly speaking, one can distinguish them not without help of scientific intuition. However, the logic of the distribution is more rational than transcendent. Each source from the official external group had “a birthplace” inside some power structure. Most of the ideas they incorporated, are standardized and are of the

officially-conservative style. In my study they are represented by the resolutions and dispositions of the Ministries of the UkrSSR and the Soviet Union, by the documents of regional, district and city committee of the CPSU and others.

Sources from the official internal level exist on the border between the “higher” world of the authorities and the world the studied community. In my case these are the documents directly related to the activities of educational institutions of the UkrSSR, where there was a strange symbiosis of what actually happened in real life, and of what it should be report on the channels of party and government control. This includes official orders of the directorate taken on the basis of government directives, reports and “dry” minutes of party meetings or formal characteristics – all paper-work dictating the rules and determining the conditions of life and work.

The group of individual directional source includes papers imbued with the “historic egoism.” They keep information about “small individuals” and real issues that may not be visible against the backdrop of the global political crisis. However, they add color and reality of the events that will be described. The fluctuations of all digital coefficients of evaluations of consciousness depend on their content. They show the epicenters of disagreement in the communities. And the activities of individuals on the local level could make all the indicators of success on the ideological and related fronts feel either of tremendous or catastrophic. These ego-reactions are found in personal files and in the memories, as well as in the orders and regulations when they spoke not about the “common good” and the victory of the world revolution, but about the everyday problems of real people.

Finally, all other sources are from the mass level of influence onto the consciousness of the pedagogical staffs. They reflect the life different from its image in the government documents. The description of everyday in these sources varies from the papers written in the walls of educational institutions. They are filled with totally unlike information to the ones covering personal views. They present the picture of that well-known “Soviet comb” used by the CPSU to level the society for over the seventy years. The instruments of molding that “common world-view” were in mass periodicals, in the powerful avalanche of propaganda materials and in printing literature. For example, in this specific work that group includes the documents telling about the life of the Soviet society, regional communities, and other close-knit groups interacting with the educators of higher pedagogical schools of the UkrSSR, occasionally intervening in the solidity of their ranks and regularity of their lives.

## NAMING THE SOURCES

Having divided the sources into semantic groups, you can see what spheres of the everyday are supplied with the scientific evidence the best. However, the last thing to do is to “name” the bearers of the used information. That is not the deeper classification but rather a synthesis operation. You just need to identify the sources, their origin and affiliation. Roughly speaking, this is a list of the titles that will answer the question: “What documents tell us about the consciousness?” I recall that after our “analytic manipulation”, some sources occupy adjacent positions for they may contain enough of information about the official external as well as internal point of view; between their lines it can be was easy for one to find information about individual version of the world as well as “official views”.

Here I must make a brief digression aside for a remark, or rather as suggestions. It matured after years of work on the archives and reading rooms, after the experience of writing and re-writing these lines. So, after Thomas Alva Edison, I am ready to say that I have found 10,000 ways of studying the everyday consciousness that won't work. So I need to advice you before diving into the search of the group consciousness through the documents in the archives, in written and oral memoirs to “live” the lives of those you are going to study independently. Yes, do it yourself. Look at their world as they were forced to see it without sarcastic comments of modern journalists and severe arguments of well-known historians, without pressure of respected minds and feelings of witnesses.

The best way to do it is to work with the periodicals. Choose a publication that was the closest according to the geography of the group you plan to study. Find which of the periodicals was published more regularly than others. And then re-read it from beginning to end, from the front page of the first edition from January, 1 of the desired year finishing with the ads on the last page of the final numbers on December 31 of the final year of your research period. Live it along with those whose lives and minds you will recreate, celebrate their holidays and weekdays, feel their problems, understand their beliefs, see the world as they were forced to see in their years.

In my case the mirror of everyday was on the pages of the daily newspaper “Zorya Poltavshchyny” (The Star of Poltava Region). At first it was strange, wild and odd from the height of the XXI century to understand how people of 1950-1960's were reading all that fine print, managing to orient in the clusters of monotonous information seasoned with spices of the ideology. After the first

couple of issues I felt the desire to make some sarcastic comments on the way my predecessors saw the world. However, very soon the every-day printed world grabs you and you live this life. You can frankly and clearly understand the grief of the crowds when the whole country was mourning for Stalin during couple of numbers of the newspaper; you fully feel the shock of the massacre of Beria after his triumphal procession through the pages of periodicals (and, consequently, through the lives of people) within a few months later. The press allowed to experience political fluctuations; its bright ads helped to live out the desire to acquire scarce products behind, and the propaganda articles made you feel glad for not living on the “decaying West”. In short, it gave the feeling of the era, the truth of which I tried either to confirm or to refute its illusory nature with the help of the documentary sources.

### “ARROGANT” OFFICIAL VIEW” OF THE SOURCE

The sources showing you the official external level of influence of consciousness are perhaps the easiest ones to find among archival storages. While working with them, we should always remember accurate comment of Nataliya Shlikhta:

*“In regard to the life of “ordinary” people, official sources represent the truth only partially, even if they don’t corrupt it consciously<sup>1</sup>”.*

Undoubtedly, the road will lead the researchers to the major archives of the country, located in the capital. What should one look for in their caches? Additional information that has become clear after working with periodicals. Reading the newspapers of the totalitarian Ukraine, you unwittingly feel the state’s influence on human consciousness. However, the impact of the state is often hard to understand for it is selective and covert. Sitting down to work with descriptions of the central archives funds, one should pay attention to those institutions that the group you choose to study encounter durum its work. In my case I am speaking about the institutions interacting with the teachers of higher pedagogical school.

Studying the attitude of the population to reality, you will work with a quite large archival fund №1 of the Central Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine (TsDAHO of Ukraine). It includes the CPU documents and materials. Most

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<sup>1</sup> Shlikhta, N. *Istoriya radyans'koho suspil'stva: Navch. posibnyk* (Kyiv: Vydavnycho-polihrafichnyy tsentr NaUKMA, 2010), 15.

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importantly, perhaps, that it keeps some files with quite “talkative” names such as “attitude to...,” “reaction of...” and so on. This is nothing like “favorites” with the views of people from all over the country on different issues from the everyday life. Looking through them, you can encounter the speeches of the members of your group, and if not, then at least the words of their colleagues from other regions of the country. It will add coloring to the research and will further resort to the comparative method in all its possible forms.

Advantage of TsDAHO of Ukraine is its complexity. In one room you will find information about all possible spheres of life of the members of your group. For example, I found there material about the control over reconstruction of universities, about the morale of teachers and students and the comments about the food supply or attitude to national issues. Sources of this archive are made up of the reports of the regional CPU committees, of the files of the special sectors of Communist Party Central Committee, of correspondence with ministries and departments of party supreme members, of memos of MGB, requests, petitions, and more. The Soviet bureaucracy kept ample documents for future researchers. Reading them makes no problems, they are written in Ukrainian or Russian, mostly printed on the typewriter, so it is not necessary to do the decryption of the text, as my colleagues studying far more ancient times are used to. Measures of weight, time and numbers remained unchanged from the middle XXth century. The only thing that can make a problem is the historical geography and correlation value of the Soviet ruble. The de-Communization laws on 2015 finished the process of saying good-bye to the ideological anchor of the totalitarianism in my country started in 1991. Many settlements were re-named leaving the mentions about the Communist leaders in their names in the past. However, if the knowledge of the subtleties of Soviet “ideological geography” of the names of towns and villages is not held in the wilds of your memory, it’s easy to look them up in guide-books or to ask the “omniscient” Google. Thank to the achievement of the democracy, this information yet (or still?) is not classified.

In fact, sitting under one roof, you can gather material for a decent dissertation research but not for a worthy description of changes in consciousness of the closed group. Why? The problem is that with all respect to the caches of the TsDAHO of Ukraine, it is the “final authority” to which copies of the reports flocked as “selected” from all papers that should be sent to the center. Looking ahead, I need to say that most of the materials from that Kyiv archive can be found in the local ones as well in the same amount or even more. In the atmosphere of the narrowed

location they can completely change their meaning which you have given him reading in the stock of performances from all over the UkrSSR. Moreover, we should not reject the practice of filtering information. Kiev authorities sometimes received not the same data which the local power intended to send them at first. For example, I have found information about the accidents with students during their agricultural practices. The university paper found in the regional archive which dealt with the fact that a student cut off three fingers came in the wording that she merely scratched the skin on her hand. There are many similar examples.

The main objective of work with the materials from the central archives is in finding the levers the government used to influence changes in the minds of the citizens and finding out what moved the authorities to model their decisions. So sometimes it is more useful to analyze the notes made by the state or party controllers on the margins of the regional regulations and reports than on the text itself. Although, it should be recognized that the materials of the central archives show that phenomenon rarer than the local archives where the “lower” authorities tried to scratch all “imperfection” of the truth.

Another institution that will gladly help in the reproduction of the “historical justice” is a Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Management of Ukraine (TsDAVO of Ukraine). Its caches keep not least documents ready to veil the secrecy over a consciousness of people. But this is mostly “a citadel of power”: it will give you the understanding as representatives of the studied group interacted with the leaders in Kyiv, how people from your selected community imagined the highest authorities and what information they were hiding in their reports. Your main skill here should be an ability to read documents examined not once by your predecessors in a new way. In my case become I found useful documents of the Ministry of higher and specialized secondary education of UkrSSR (Fund 4261) and the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR (Fund 166).

The last fund is a godsend for those who study higher pedagogical school. This is a bulk of materials from all educational institutions and universities, teachers’ colleges and institutions of the country gathered in one place. I myself had the opportunity to read or reread reports and information previously worked in the field of more than 40 higher educational institutions of the country in the period from 1953 to 1964. So if you do not have the time or money to drive across mother-Ukraine, but want to illustrate trends in overall scale, there can be nothing better than the reading halls of TsDAVO of Ukraine. Documents provided by the fund, cover the life of universities under the strict scheme starting with the ideological

commitment to the accession of Lenin and Stalin (or later Marxist-Leninist) to the number of taps in hostels. The inner structure is very clear so the powerful individuals had no hassle flipping pages in search of the necessary comments. Where there is no structure (collection of information etc.), they are arranged either geographically or alphabetically. All reports and nearly all references are edited, printed, stitched and bound: and thou shall rejoice that it is not cursive of the XVII century.

Speaking frankly, one could “settle down” in a single TsDAVO, treating materials of the 166 fund, and have powerful arguments to talk about recreating behavior, life and reactions of teachers and students of higher educational schools across all of the country. However, the problem of the TsDAVO of Ukraine is the same as of the previous archive: the totalitarian capital is a very specific center. The material collected in it sometimes is a little too perfect that you begin to regret that you are living in the XXI century democratic (or relatively democratic?) Ukraine with national (or supposing national?) school. The shelves of the TsDAVO become an indispensable companion in search of patterns of group thinking, but in no way it should be the basis for reproduction of the consciousness of the close-knit group (unless it is not a group of officials who produced most of these documents).

Therefore the main clause about the work with the records of TsDAVO is to look for the highlighted lines and someone’s notes on the margins more that stats, facts and descriptions filtered not once before they reached this archive.

Narrowing the search for an official influence to the consciousness of the group should not make difficulties: the Soviet state machinery cared about recording its every step. The list of sources should be sought in regional archive, browse through materials oblast, and district and city committees of the CPSU. My research in its micro level focused on the Poltava region, so most of outspoken documents should keep Poltava flavor<sup>1</sup>. For more information I took documents of Kremenchuk City Committee of the Communist Party (fund P-13), where there was a pedagogical college, where the teachers of Poltava SPI often went to deliver lectures to the local educators and to the city inhabitants, being one of the greatest exponents of mass consciousness in Poltava region. Of course, for comparison or verification of the conclusions that can be obtained from the local archive documents, you can enlist the “support” of the identical assets form neighboring areas (for example, in my study there were documents of the fund R-3990 of the

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<sup>1</sup> In particular, these are the documents of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party (fund P-15 of the State Archive of Poltava region), Poltava City CPSU Committee (fund P-12), the Zhovtnevyi District CPSU Committee of Poltava (fund P-19) and others.

State Archives of Cherkasy region etc.). But I need to stress that the specifically the group localized, the more reliable the re-creation of its outlook and the better reconstruction of the dynamics of change of consciousness are.

On the one hand, the materials of these funds do not differ much from those that you met in the central archives: they bear the same names; they share the form and patterns of presentation. However, there is something new: if final protocols and the last variants of documents were mostly the ones to reach Kyiv, there, in local archives, are a lot of “drafts”, transcripts, applications, small information and statistical data that formed the core of those ones sent to condemnation or approval of the authorities in the capital. Among them one can find the information about the material basis, about the ideological work, the state of preparedness of universities for the new academic year, and transcripts of plenary sessions. And by the way, already mentioned by us binders called “reaction of the population to...”

Here it is not uncommon to see handwritten papers. They are to become precious jewels in the hands of the researcher. Those original variants of the reports one worked with in Kyiv, in the regional archives often are preserved in their “first condition” – with taped paragraphs, with notes in the margin such as “not worth mentioning” or “delete this”. And the “lower” you descend in the authority hierarchy looking for the original text, the “livelier” it becomes. Thus, the printed pages of the documents of Poltava district and city committees of the CPSU become real gems with the handwritings between the lines. They are written not on the official forms but on the lined sheets from the copy-books, on the pieces (sometimes quite small) of A-4 format, on the newsprint notebook leaves and even on the tracing paper. The printed tape so common to the papers from the central archive is partly replaced by the ink, black or color pencils. It is difficult to convey a subjective scientific joy when after a dozen of minutes of “decoding” of the notes written longhand you find out the facts needed. However, time spent reading these documents will be rewarded a hundredfold for you need to be aware about the environment in which the members of the studied group were living outside the walls of their institutions.

In my case, they supplied me with the information about the “food crisis”, problems with housing, and speculations that clearly defined the behavior of teachers. The problems of students, the descriptions of parks, culture and recreation were also found there. It tremendously helped that, kept on the local level; official sources began to speak quite in unofficial voice of the local personal comments and examples from life.



Working with these sources (as well as with all others of the local archives), one should take in account what language they are written in; when and under what circumstances the author transferred into another language; what is the flavor of the language: is it dry, too oversaturated with comparisons, or is it artificially ceremonial. What are the emotional reactions of the audience in the report: silence, negative, or approval? If approval, then what kind of approval: cheer or “support for not to be disturbed”? What first comes to people’s minds when considering the government issues: politics or local discord, personal problems or international conflicts? Who is most critical, and who protects others? These and similar notes will help then to understand the motives of individual members of you group.

Evidence of the external official influences can be found in... the internal documentation of your organization or institution that unites people in the team. In my case, the SPI. I mean here the files labeled as “collection of orders of the Ministry related to school work and management’s correspondence with heads of educational institutions of all levels”, from heads of local farms to the First Secretary of the Central Committee Comrade Khrushchev<sup>1</sup>. This collection of ministerial documents were copied and sent out to the lower levels. However, they have the invaluable advantage over their originals from the TsDAVO of Ukraine – the intertwining of two realities: of the authorities and of the studied group. Imperious directive stated in then, of course, was not changed on the places. However, the university director, using a pencil, made it clear what was important to his specific institution in that order, what problems of the criticized schools were identical to his one, and what the members of his group (and, consequently, a researcher) should pay increasing attention to in their everyday.

The press bears the information about the influence of the state onto people as well. Printed publications about plenums and multipage reports of government officials were as echoes of the “power voice” in people’s lives along with the publication of these documents as separate editions. One can trace these kinds of articles in the newspapers immediately: that will almost certainly be the editorial publication, the name will be caught by the eye because of the font size, and the wise politician on the central photo will probably look at the reader from the center of the page with the texts. Of course, these publications are full of ideological clichés, have propaganda inside and will tell a little about the consciousness of team itself. However, they are the incentives to this reaction of people, so they

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<sup>1</sup> The fund R-1507 of Poltava Oblast State Archive with the identical documents in the funds R-2817, R-5369 of the State Archives of Sumy region; R-1780 and R-4293 of the State Archives of Kharkiv region, R-193 or R-1418 of the State Archives of Cherkasy region. etc.

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cannot be missed. Working with them you should note some important issues: to what extent the printed speech or legislative decision concerns the life of the studied group (and does it really touch its everyday?), what information is mostly stress? how often the editors and authors are try to draw attention to the problems raised by them in one issue of the press, in the issues during the week/the month/the year etc (and do they really emphasize something at all?).

So these are the sources that give the official description of the external influence on the team. Ignoring them can turn the group into the collective from the vacuum whose problems become confusing and are not understandable. However, the emphasis should not be made only on them. The official ideology influenced the life of the group but the team interpreted the desires of power in its own way.

**THE INNER OFFICIAL “FRONTIER”**

Sources included in this group really live simultaneously in two worlds: in the space of the official reports and human routine. On the one hand, they are full of power imperatives, and above all embody the plans of the government and the party, and only then note the opinion of the people. On the other hand, the dry world of facts gets along with the vivid evidence of the collective behavior.

In my case, I include here the orders of the directors of the Pedagogical Institutes at first. It is not a significant problem to find them. They are either in the archive of the university (as it is with the papers of Poltava SPI) or among documents of Pedagogical Institutes in the caches of urban or regional archives (for example, documents of two Kyiv Pedagogical Institutes in the State Archives of Kyiv or with the files of the SPIs of Hlukhiv and Sumy in the State Archive of Sumy region, etc.). These sources are preserved as files of orders of the management on various issues of internal order. They are grouped according to the time of occurrence (which is quite substantial in uncovering the dynamic of changes of the group consciousness). Their text is printed, it is rather laconic, as befits any official documentation. However, their advantage is that this “formality” is deeply individualized. I mean, most orders relate to the specific events and describe the actions of specific people in a fixed time. This brings them close to the sources of individual character, if not the presence of their commands like “reject”, “approve” or “exclude”. Of course, working with orders of directors, you can “analytically tear” this material and connect its pieces to the block of individual sources. However, using them this way, you will restore rather the individuality of the life of the institution, but not the people working in it. These documents

describe the official inner world of the pedagogical institute with hints about the “skeletons” in all its cabinets. However, they will be silent about the origin of these problems. Therefore, as Peter Burke advised, the main objective of the study of the management orders is to read between the lines<sup>1</sup>.

These documents provide a description of the results of action of the team members, or even not so much the results as their consequences. Among them one can find the references to the motives of the deeds. So, working with the university documents, you should ask the following questions: who and how stands out from the crowd the most? Is this an evidence of the elements of leadership or the public deviant behavior? What is a “crime and punishment” in administrative system of coordinates of the institute? What areas of life are among the most usual subjects of the administrative control, and what problems are mentioned only when “the powder keg explodes” etc.?

This group of sources unites the documents of the departments of the educational institutions (they are usually stored in the collections of institutions in the state archives, which I mentioned above). These are the reports of the libraries, university periodicals, and papers of the temporary commissions, departments and faculties. They illustrate the general course of affairs and confirm the implementation of orders and guidelines in daily practice. Some of them are printed and stitched in separate cases. Other are handwritten in notebooks or on ordinary sheets of paper and stitched together into a single unit reporting. Therefore, “to knock the truth out of them”, you have to practice a little in the art of graphology. These reports include not only dry official information but provide the examples of interpersonal relationships in the team. The clear linking of the records to the dates largely delivers a complete picture if investigating these sources integrally. However you won’t receive the full picture doing it fragmentally, choosing, for example, only the semi-annual reports of the department of mathematics, then the annual report of the Department of Marxism-Leninism and so on. Surely, it will take much more time than an illustration of your own conclusions with the examples taken from the chosen papers. But this is the goal: to come as close as possible to what is conventionally called historical truth.

Under the “internal official frontier” I mean the specific protocols of party meetings and meetings of the party bureaus of the primary party organizations of the Pedagogical Institutes. These documents had been meticulously kept in the

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<sup>1</sup> Berk, Peter. “Vsup. Nova istoriya: yiyi mynule i maybutnye” in *Novi pidkhody do istoriopysannya...* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 24.

Specific CPSU archives to the dissolution of the Union, until they were moved to the General Funds with the note “P” (for “party documentation”). So, Poltava SPI records are among the Fund P-251, Cherkasy SPI files are in the fund P-2187 and Kyiv SPI ones are in the P-485 fund and so on.

These documents are moved to the “boundary line” between the worlds of the official and unique, because they mostly include the decisions that were “necessary to the authorities”. This is largely due to the fact that long before 1950 the party assemblies in the SPIs were held under the surveillance of the KGB. And all the facts of the “retreat” from the party line during these meetings were discussed at the highest party level after the advice of these “vigilant guards”. As an example I can name the activities of Mr. Zinoviev from the People’s Commissariat of State Security, who repeatedly resorted to such revelations of Poltava educators during the Stalinist reality<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the process of making “ideologically dignified decision” was preceded by a discussion among the educators that shows live views of individuals and gives an idea of their personality (albeit limited by the affiliation with the CPSU). So party documents will be a real gift in recreating the political consciousness of the group. However, we should not forget that being a member of the Party in the USSR was some kind of the ideological privilege. Therefore, these documents will serve more as evidence on the state of political consciousness of rather narrow group of people who were interested in politics. The majority remained outside the official party, and therefore the attitude too many political events of these members were left out of the protocols and transcripts. So I should stress once again, one could facilitate the work of reproduction the worldview of the teachers to the image of politician from the documents of party meetings. However, they are only a drop in the sea of human thoughts – the drop “distilled” by the party canons and traditions.

Special attention should be drawn to the participation of teachers and students in the work of the Soviet NGOs. Of course, from the perspective of today the definition of civic organizations in the USSR sounds quite controversial for everything was either under the control of the Communist party or of the Soviet state. However, we will use terminology appropriate to the time. The most important organization in my description (except Komsomol that was gravitating more to the party structure) is the Society of the dissemination of political and scientific knowledge of simply Society “Knowledge”. It involved both party and non-party members, both teachers with the respected scientific degree and young

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-19, op. 1, spr. 6, ark.3.

assistants, both full-time students and students of the correspondence department<sup>1</sup>. The educators were among the active leaders in the field of propaganda not only in Poltava, but also in other regions from Kharkiv<sup>2</sup> to Rivne<sup>3</sup> and beyond.

A large number of these materials are kept in separate funds of the Society as it is in Poltava State archive. What caught my attention while studying the activities of teachers in this organization? Educators of Poltava SPI were among the best speakers of the city that were engaged to the process of changing the worldview of Poltava inhabitants<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, majority of the local branches of the societies in the region involved former graduates and students of all years of study. And ever present-day working teachers of Poltava Pedagogical University promoted knowledge not only voluntarily but also at the expense of the Society. For example, I remember at least one of the current teachers – Hryhoriy Dzhurka, who began his educational activities in the company of his students during 1960<sup>5</sup>. Another fact stating the weight of this NGO is that out the 40 regional offices of the Society in Poltava oblast, 36 were led by former graduates of Poltava SPI<sup>6</sup>. And during the times when teachers of Poltava SPI ran the regional department it occupied leading positions in the country in promoting the knowledge among other regional branches of the Society (in 1954 it was the first place, in 1955 – the second, etc.)<sup>7</sup>.

Society documents referred to a group of the inner official level for among their files one can find many cost estimates, reports of all sorts and colors, minutes and transcripts of meetings, correspondence, which hardly explain the inner world of people. However, they illustrate where they used to spend their free time and even how much it cost. The forms of the existence of such documents are quite different – from hardly readable inscriptions in pencil on the tracing paper to printed documents on the official forms. The problem consists of the fact that most of them are repetitive and dry, listing the sections of its members, the names of lectures and more. However, knowing the “actors” of the research, a significant achievement of the scientist is to find out what they talked with the people about in their reports, what sums they received as a profit and how they positioned themselves behind the walls of universities.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 25, ark. 145.

<sup>2</sup> DAKhO, f. R-4293, op. 2, spr. 685, ark. 16.

<sup>3</sup> TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1878, ark. 28.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1903, ark. 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 113, ark. 130.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 39, ark. 11-113B.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 48, ark. 8.

Finally, I need to recall the connection of educators with the local press. Among the list of publications of the teachers found in the local press you could see the domination of those covering the official internal view on the problems. Their titles are usually taken from the lists of ideological clichés and appeared in the press only when it was necessary to convince the authorities of loyalty to the new party course. So they included a minimum of information about the atmosphere at the institute and mostly copied the contents of speeches of leaders and texts of propaganda materials. Therefore, their use should be very careful and unpretentious: they will not reveal the truth, but rather serve as hints of the norms of coexistence of the pedagogical teams with the totalitarian state.

### **“THE GHOSTS” FO THE INDIVIDUAL SOURCES**

Sources that undercover the worlds some people do have their “ghosts”. They are mostly animated with the problems and achievements of specific people, more than any other papers colored with individual worldview and less than others claim to comprehensiveness and validity. Just reaching them, you understand that you do not work with a gray masses or average indicators of change of consciousness, but with the individuals whose views sometimes meant for colleagues not less than the words of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Mosaic picture of the personalities that shaped the Pedagogical Institute staff can be formed out of the particles of the sources of all previous groups. Teachers and students frequently became the members of debriefing of the party organization; they were at the center of important regional or local events where they left the trace in speeches or notes. However, no third-party document describes the world of person as he or she does. The first ones opening the veil of secrecy are personal files of students and teachers of the institutes. It is not difficult to find them: they are available in either regional or municipal archives (such as documents of Kyiv Pedagogical Institute of foreign languages), or in the archive of the university (as in the case of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute).

The personal file of the employee the pedagogical institute could be of different size from 1 to 100 and more pages. Everything depended on the time a person spent in the walls of the university and his activity in the office. These are collections of documents written about the man and by the man himself. The first sheet in the file in most cases is represented by the record sheet from HR. This is a questionnaire type document, in which a man left a handwritten record of his age, party affiliation, national or geographic origin, education, family ties and

achievements in various fields – from military to scientific. And of course, it is a good opportunity literally to look into the eyes of whom you have read in the dry processed papers before: the record sheets from HR were usually accompanied by pictures of the worker.

But if the “sheet...” still bears echoes of formality, the next document, attached to it, has undeniable weight. It is autobiography of the educator. Of course, many of them were only chronologies of events already mentioned in the HR sheet transcribed with punctuation marks in a row. However, there were many others who simply “poured the soul out” in these documents, mentioning the problem of childhood, horrors of war, the joy of victory and even doubts, after which necessarily followed “enlightenment from the ideas of communism”. A similar value bear complaints, requests, memoranda and other personally written documents that have survived in the personal files along with the official characteristics and references about annual and monthly salaries of the employee.

The personal files of the institute students are pretty similar to the previous documents (but they are unlikely to find somewhere other than in the departmental archives of pedagogical universities because of their number, which occupies more than one storage rack). These cases are structured almost identically with the employees’ cases. They include the request for entry, autobiography, examination lists and record-books. But this “standard set” of the entrant is not strictly limited. The structure of the personal files of students include interesting documents whose authors did not set a specific goal for their preservation for history and, according to Jim Sharpe, “even could be impressed by their modern use<sup>1</sup>”. These are students’ dictations, essays, tests and qualification works and not less interesting reviews of them written by the teaching. The last ones, of course, have a dual nature: on the one hand, their formality shows the position of the majority on the issues covered in the students papers; on the other, they were written by the real people who sometimes also were punished for their too descriptions. Moreover, such reviews are good examples of individual impact on colleagues or the wards.

These two groups will present a large number of quantitative sources for different studies from understanding the language preference to the calculation of the number of “the heroes” and “the abandoned ones” in the group.

Special attention should be paid to the creative works of students and teachers (called “frozen form of existence of oral history” by Gwyn Prins<sup>2</sup>) and to the

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<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, J. “Itoriya znyzu” in *Novi pidkhody do istoriopsannya...* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 45.

<sup>2</sup> Prins, G. “Usna istoriya” in *Novi pidkhody do istoriopsannya...* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 153.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

published memoirs of participants in the events describes in your research. The first ones are easy to find on the pages of periodicals or documents of the institute. Mass publication of the memoirs of the educators of the “thaw” started to appear already after regaining the independence of Ukraine in 1991. This fact certainly left its mark on their content. Some information that by 1991 had been interpreted as an advantage then was seen as a disadvantage in the eyes of the citizen of the after-totalitarian country; former criminals dressed folk heroes’ coats; and same old heroes were almost forgotten. Besides, you can never be certain what crucible edits the memories went through before being published. For example, I recall the “History of Poltava Pedagogical Institute in the personalities” of 1995 edition. It is not rare to find evidence of the reaction of the teachers of the “thaw” on debunking the cult of personality. The book classified their feelings as “a feeling of a holiday” and so on. However the words of the same people from the protocols in archives showed totally different reaction. Therefore, all those collections of memories and identical to them “memories of memories” published in such kinds of anniversary editions rather deliver not “first-hand” vision of events but from “the hands of time”.

However, the most valuable source is the oral testimony of people of the studied epoch if they are still alive in the time of your research. In my case they are former teachers of SPIs and students who lived in the days of de-Stalinization. The interviews theoretically can provide you with the endless information: you have only ask correct questions and be ready to listen. I will not stop on the specifics of oral testimonies, except saying that the word of a man looking you in the eyes weighs more than all lines of memories and autobiographies because along with the facts it allows to see her reaction of people to their own recollections. Knowing this, I can only notice that it is historian’s sin to be ignorant of psychology when seeking the history amid present witnesses. For oral testimonies are valuable for the study of consciousness only when a researcher not only asks interesting questions but also sees in them something more than facts. For example, the order in which people remember the past and what makes them do so? What do they try to avoid? How do they react to the repetition of questions and if they repeat the answer, do they lose something previously said?

**“WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION”**

Truly, that group of sources shall not be called differently than a group of “weapons of mass destruction”. At the time of totalitarian state the documents



attributed here were produced with the expectation of a broad field of activity – as it was sung in the popular Soviet song, “from Moscow to the suburbs”, from housewife in the kitchen to housewife which was let rule the government. These sources are important because they give the image of the atmosphere in the Soviet society as a whole with educators as its members and the climate in the manifestation in the level of community of Poltava city and its region.

The description of the aura around your studied group preserved in printed press the best. Even though it had the tightest connection with the authorities, the epoch approached the lives of ordinary people namely from the newspaper columns. And it also influences the world view of the researcher who scrolls its pages years after publication. The Soviet press shows the past not selectively but comprehensively, consistently and in details. Even communist censorship that filtered every word didn't harm them, because the fact of filtering itself already characterized the process of forming the minds of the masses.

It is hard to disagree with Ivan Gaskell that describing the events of the past, historians by virtue of their education find it easier to work with written sources, leaving aside many other worthy materials<sup>1</sup>. Accounting on this observation, in addition to newspaper articles, one should pay attention to the numerous photos and images that adorned the pages of printed media. The information encoded in them, appeared to be so ambiguous making you do re-evaluation of previously figured out conclusions and generalizations. Something like that was experienced by me while working on “In the Grip of De-Stalinization...” where caricatures and pictures from the regional press showed the life not as fair and bright as the propaganda wanted.

What periodicals should one choose for a study? Studying the consciousness of educators, I paid the most attention to the content analysis of Poltava regional daily newspaper the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” (The Star of Poltava Region) as the micro-level of the research touched the life of Poltava educators. For a considerable period of time I have looked through (sometimes several times) about 3 thousand numbers of edition for 12 years of the “thaw”. Why was the “Zorya...” was chosen for a study instead some central newspapers, for example the “Pravda”? First, as rightly observed Stepan Makarchuk, those regional newspapers had the greatest popularity among the population for one simple reason: there were no others in the regions to read and the authorities often initiated the centralized subscriptions<sup>2</sup>. In the days of de-Stalinization, the “Zoraya...” reached almost every home of workers

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<sup>1</sup> Gaskell, A. “Vizualna isoriya” in *Novi pidkhody do istoriopysannya...* (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2010), 221.

<sup>2</sup> Makarchuk, Stepan. *Pysemni dzhherela z istoriyi Ukrayiny: Kurs lektsiy* (Lviv: Svit, 1999), 289.

and collective farm employees<sup>1</sup>, and Poltava region took the first place in the UkrSSR for the regional press distribution among the population, constantly winning socialist competition in that sphere<sup>2</sup>. In addition, local authorities put on a special control the fact that teachers and intellectuals of the city should receive the press with the “correct” coverage of reality fully and on time<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, the teachers of Poltava SPI used the materials of the “Zorya...” in their lectures on history, philology and pedagogy<sup>4</sup>.

In addition, the “Zorya...” as opposed to the “Pravda” gave more truth (‘pravda’) about life in the local dimension. If you are afraid of the possible loss of the overall state information content, this observation does not apply to Soviet periodicals. Each number of the “Zorya...” had a reprint of the central periodicals, gave large areas to description of the events in Moscow and Kyiv and to the coverage of the leaders of the state. And the lower you went in the scale of periodicals from the regional level – the bigger was the percentage of re-printed materials. For example, in 1958, all 34 regional newspapers, 80 factory newspapers and more than 6 thousand wall newspapers in Poltava region didn’t create any original news bulletins but reprinted materials from the regional source<sup>5</sup>. For example the thematic headings of the “Robitnyk Kremenchuchchyny” (“Kremenchuk region worker”) in the years of the “thaw” intentionally copied central regional titles<sup>6</sup>. And even more the editors of the provincial edition consulted almost each month with their “top-colleagues” from Poltava in scheduling the content of all editions for the month<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, such central regional newspapers as the “Zorya...” will be the most valuable source of the reconstruction of the mass consciousness in the chosen region. In addition, all the trends and forms of presentation of the reality, seen in the pages of the Poltava regional media, were mentioned while using identical editions of Sumy and Cherkasy regions (the “Bilshovyts’ka zbroya” (“Bolshevik weapon”), the “Stalins’kyi promin” (“Stalin’s beam”), the “Umans’ka zorya” (“Uman Star”), etc.).

Looking for the press, which affected the staff of the group, visit the library of the institutions. If there is one, it surely provides you with the editions that were

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 710, ark. ark. 22.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1340, ark. 50.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 661, ark. 239.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 555, ark. 65.

<sup>5</sup> “Mohutnya zbroya budivnykiv komunizmu” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 08, 1958, no. 28, 3.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f. P-13, op. 1, spr. 663, ark. 29; 116.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f. P-13, op. 1, spr. 635, ark. 26; 90; 209.

subscribed in the specific time period and moreover that keep the traces of being worked out. For example, working in the library of Poltava V. G. Korolenko National Pedagogical University, I found the files of the “Literaturna Hazeta” (Literary Gazette) and the “Radyanska osvata” (Soviet Education), over 600 numbers of which helped to see the impact on the aesthetic values and political orientations of the university team of de-Stalinization epoch.

A big plus of the Soviet press as a source is its systematic publication. It keeps the researcher “up to date” on cases much better than the collections of the official documents because the last ones were printed only in the turning points of history. All articles in the regional Soviet press are usually grouped in blocks which help in finding the right materials. For example, the notes about educators were mostly represented on the separate page or in the separate corner so you can’t get lost in long searches among the articles about honorable milkmaids and prominent factory workers. The imperfection of the press is that its voice was still more the voice of the totalitarian state, rather than a true voice of the people, although there occurred quite unexpected publications.

Along with the press, resorting to studying the image of the state and politicians, everyday life and its ideals in the works of widely read and well-known writers and poets of the day will be quiet useful. The role of creativity of those ones praying the regime and the dissidents, well-known and “unrecognized” by the official literary club was so important for Khrushchev era, that Abraham Brumberg even dubbed this area “literary front”<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the literary works were frequently used by the educators both in everyday educational activities and in ideological struggle. For example, linguists of Poltava SPI involved fiction along with the political speeches as the examples of syntax rules<sup>2</sup>; or the colleagues of the Poltava historian Vasyl Loburets acknowledged that he enriched his lectures with well-aimed citations from the romances to influence young minds<sup>3</sup>. The options how literature became the basis for reflection of the consciousness of everyday in the Soviet period one should look through the work by Lindsay F. Manz<sup>4</sup>.

The restoration of educators’ everyday world was conducted only on the bases of editions from the days of the described events. This was done in order to

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<sup>1</sup> Brumberg, A. “Literary Scene. Introduction” in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 341.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 927, ark. 6.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 926, ark. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Manz, L. F. *Lessons from the Kremlin: Folklore and Children’s Literature in the Socialization of Soviet Children, 1932-1945* (Thesis ... for the Degree of Master of Arts: Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 2007), 105.

minimize the factor of opportunism to the new political conditions not so from the side of the authors but from the side of the controllers and censors of every kind and quality. During Brezhnev's rule the approaches to the history changed from those determined by his predecessor. On the contrary, in Khrushchev's days, we mention the period of the "ideological relaxation" of literature praised by Victor Erlich<sup>1</sup>. So the authors of the "thaw" received an opportunity to call white "the white" and black – "the black" (however it was only for a short time). No wonder Khrushchev, speaking to the Writers' Union, advised the artists:

*"Writers are the artillerymen, they are artillery. Because they, so to speak, clear the way for our infantry, figuratively speaking, flush the brains to these ones they should. I want you, gunners, wash the brains with your long-range artillery but not pollute them.... Strike, strike precisely, strike the opponent, but not shoot in your side!"<sup>2</sup>*

The most respected local authors in Poltava were Marfa Bondarenko, Fedir Harin, Ivan Cherovynschenko and Oleksa Yurenko. Their poems were visible beacons in the change of the course of the party when appearing in the press or in the collections. The talented countrymen's works were used by teachers and students from time to time in lectures and practical works.

The newsreels of the day. However, it should be borne in mind that the role of television and films we feel now was quite different at the time of the "thaw". Students and teachers could be exposed to the influence of the newsreels while watching TV or even going to the movies. The transcripts of the lectures show us that in the fifties teachers of social studies appealed to watched and heard by their students in "Chronicles of our days" shown on the wide screens in the cinemas before the film itself<sup>3</sup>. And if going to the cinema was more or less frequent, the TV had been a rare guest in the homes of Poltavites until the end of Khrushchev's rule.

Since the late 1950s, because of the scientific and technical progress, movies gradually "conquered" lectures halls. It became a useful hint in the educational process expanding the boundaries of ideological influence on students' consciousness. The documentaries had a special place in that campaign. Among the most used were the videos about abroad trips of the leading politicians of the USSR

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<sup>1</sup> Erlich, V. "Soviet literary criticism: Past and Present" in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 354.

<sup>2</sup> Nash Nikita Sergeevich (Directed by Setkina Í., 1961).

<sup>3</sup> DAKhO, f. R- 4293, op. 2, spr. 681, ark. 15.

and about the successes of socialist construction<sup>1</sup>. The growing influence of the “blue flame” (as TVs were called in the USSR) led to the fact that the Central Committee of CPSU published the resolution “On the Tasks of the Party Propaganda in Modern Conditions” on 9 January, 1960. It prompted the Ministry of Education to oblige educational institutions to use films in lectures and propaganda activities as wide as possible<sup>2</sup>. And the educators did so. For example, even provincial Poltava SPI started to use the educational movies right up to that resolution in 1960<sup>3</sup>. However, watching long hours of documentary newsreels, one should always keep in mind that they were primarily involuntarily hostages of ideology, and only after were the voice of truth.

No doubt that during de-Stalinization the radio remained a major tool for molding population’s conscious. Loudspeakers in the parks and in the streets were doing their work equally with homemade and manufactured radios. The topics and focus of radio outlets may be found in the documents of regional archives. However, the installation of radio did not reach its peak in the “thaw” period. According to Andriy Pochter who was then the Head of the Regional Radio Directorate, Poltava Region of those days had quite a small number of broadcasting outlets. There were 56 thousands of them and only in the cities – it was a drop in the sea for almost two million people of the whole oblast<sup>4</sup>. If we make the most generalized calculations, which assume that there lived about 450 thousand families of four (parents and two children) in the area, it turns out that only one in four families could listen to the radio. Moreover, there were radio receiving station in the hostel of Poltava SPI, but in 1953 there were no loudspeakers and youth could listen to the radio only when they could construct the reproducers themselves<sup>5</sup>.

Describing the atmosphere in which members of the studied group spent their everyday, it is useful to take a look behind the veil of Soviet humor. Getting to know the anecdotes that existed among the citizens of the USSR adds a certain “emotional and psychological” relief. Especially when these stories are told by the eye-witnesses of the events as they are recited sincerely and always tied to a certain point of life.

Speaking of the mass consciousness, it is difficult to stay away from at least a cursory review of the documents and materials of other institutions and

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 858, ark. 2.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 729, ark. 23.

<sup>3</sup> APNPU, f. 3, op. 1960, spr. Nakazy... T.1, ark. 33.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr. 1353, ark. 121.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 371, ark. 1.

organizations that operated close to the pedagogical institutes. They were chosen not randomly. In my research the selection criteria was a degree of their connection with Poltava SPI as with an institution. Of course, the greatest number of them was made up of the documents of Poltava schools. Firstly, they were in the professional chain with Pedagogical Institute who prepared “educated manpower” for them and used the schools as a place for practice. Moreover, former SPI students, whose consciousness was formed within the walls of their alma mater, continued to sow “reasonable, good, and eternal” in the schools of Poltava region. Secondly, as it turned out, quite often, most of the teachers from the SPI were present as experts, advisors or even ideological supervisors on numerous methodological and party meetings in schools all over the city. With the same considerations I could not avoid analyses of the documents of Institute of improvement of qualification of teachers.

The list of “other institutions” include museums with students as the frequent guests in them, the offices of regional prosecutors, police departments, local authorities and others. There is nothing unexplainable in that choice of institutions while re-creating the every-day of the educators if you constantly keep in mind the fact that the representatives of all these establishments periodically visited university students and faculty with lectures or check-ups. These materials can show the environment in which the ideas of educators developed under the influence of other social groups.

### **QUANTITATIVE KALEIDOSCOPE**

Involvement of quantitative methods in the study will inevitably lead to the fact that not only by the end of the research itself, but also during its intermediaries one will collect a large amount of number – from the mentions of politicians in the press to numerous factors, obtained as the result of calculations. On the one hand, this information is not unique for it was taken out from the core of a large number of different written sources. So it is hard to talk about their independent significance. However, the original texts did not contain such calculations and generalizations originally without being analyzed, so the quantitative sources are rather a direct product of the researcher. This surely displays them as a separate group of sources. Let me not stop on their description: they become apparent in the work in specific places. Their interpretation requires no precautions: in most cases the numbers do not give reason to doubt, as words do. The only toughness of this

group of sources if the process for its forming. It is really hard sometimes to finish all the calculations through monotonous hours of work.

### **SECRETS OF THE “HISTORICAL CUISINE”**

Secrets of the “historical cuisine” about the “preparing” the interpretation of the past, in fact, are not so mysterious. The only inscrutable component there is a personality of the historian himself who is ready to “mix” ingredients – historical facts – in the proportions known only to him and only under his own recipes selected for the historical presentation. The reader chooses the “product” when it is ready, decorated with the conclusions and generalizations as if the festive table decorated by the caring holiday-makers. Here I need to state what principles are in the basis of my study of the minds of the educators of the “thaw”.

### **THE INTEGRITY AND DISTINCTIVENESS**

One of the road signs of my study of the problem is simultaneous integrity and distinctiveness of historical development. Taking it as a leading one, I kept in mind that it is usually becomes the head one while analyzing much broader subjects than the consciousness of one social group. As a rule is the best one to provide the perspective on the development of the world cultures (or civilizations)/ it helps to illustrate either the unity of their development, or the isolation specifics of the separate clusters of each human civilization. I interpret civilization theory on behalf of studying micro groups as parts of the bigger unity – a single Ukrainian Soviet society. So the question raised by the use of this principle will be as the following: “Is a social-political development of the UkrSSR during de-Stalinization something ‘whole’ or, on the contrary, only the sum of life of different groups?”

Following Nikolai Danilevsky<sup>1</sup>, I’ll propose to look at different groups of people (in my case the country’s educators, students and teachers of pedagogical universities of the UkrSSR) as at separate closed public bodies equal to each other and already having some structure and integrity inside themselves. Certainly, they are not decisive in the overall development of the country; however, they are the real subjects of history. SPIs are actual carriers of historical reality. All Soviet economic and political theories became visible on their micro level of. Every pedagogical institute for me was an independent, self-sufficient culture that lived,

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<sup>1</sup> Danilevskiy, N.YA. Rossiya i Yevropa: vglyad na kul'trunie i politicheskiye otnosheniye slavyans'kogo mira k roman-germanskomu (Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya brat'yev Panteyeleyevykh, 1895), 630.

evolved, had conflicts and disagreements in its development, solved them every day and every minute with not less (if not more) dramatic nature than the whole Soviet state did. To my understanding of the SPI I can suite Oswald Spengler's expression about the distinctiveness of the world civilizations:

*“I see ... the drama of a number of mighty Cultures, each springing with primitive strength from the soil of a mother-region to which it remains firmly bound through its whole life-cycle; each stamping its material, its mankind, in its own images; each having its own idea, its own passions, its own life, will and feeling, its own death. Here the Cultures, people, languages, truths, gods, landscapes bloom and age as the oaks and the stone pines, the blossoms, twigs and leaves<sup>1</sup>”.*

However, there is one distinction. Civilization theory is still arguing about the role of the unity and uniqueness in the development of cultures. But my study of the close-knit group life inevitably strengthens in opinion that this distinctiveness of all related institutions was only a way to preserve self-identification in the necessary unity of the social groups forming the totalitarian state. My research of pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR as if “educators’ civilizations” in a single Soviet one, states the same similarity of that Fernand Braudel revealed in the evolution of civilizations of the world<sup>2</sup>. Universities faced with the same problems that postwar time created to them. Teaching staffs of different SPIs had the identical idea of their place in the Soviet society; however the ways and means of reaching their social goals were sometimes different, but final aspirations of teaching groups all over the country showed quite small variety.

Therefore, in this study the principle of integrity and distinctiveness of historical development is understood as the uniqueness of each higher educational institution as an independent culture within a single Ukrainian Soviet reality.

### **PROGRESS OR REGRESS?**

One of the defining principles of studying the changes of the everyday political consciousness is its evolution. The pioneer of anthropology Edward

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<sup>1</sup> Oswald Spengler, *The World-as-History* in Patrick Gardner, ed. *Theories of History* (Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1959), 194.

<sup>2</sup> Brodel, F. *Material'na tsyvilizatsiya, ekonomika i kapitalizm, XV-XVIII st. Tom 1. Struktura povsyakdennosti: mozhlyve i nemozhlyve*. [Per. s fr. H.Filipchuk] (Kyiv, Osnovy, 1995), 543.



Burnett Tylor explained evolution as a progress. The word ‘evolution’ occurs only twice in his “Anthropology”<sup>1</sup>, in return, the author resorts to replace it with the word “progress” for more than 40 times in similar cases. Without going into theoretical arbitrage between supporters of different ideologies, I note that I will not follow Edward Taylor regarding it as a “glorious march to progress”<sup>2</sup>. However, I find a comment in his work suitable for this research:

*“But so far as history is to be our criterion, progression is primary and degradation secondary; culture must be gained before it can be lost”<sup>3</sup>.*

With this in mind I will focus on the definition of progress which speaks of it as of the appearance of changes that constitute a new quality compared with the previous state (even those changes that Taylor might have thought to be degeneration or the draw-back). The evolution of consciousness of the educators showed frequent moments of reverse to the old ideas. For example, that happened with the understanding of the role of Stalin and the CPSU in the country. However, calling the renaissance of Stalinist love in the end of se-Stalinization can be understood as the draw-back to the “old” only when you look at the consciousness of educators as the solid substance developing through the long over the vast territory of the totalitarian country. However, the students who joined the every-day world of educators during the “thaw” remember only a struggle with his cult. So in their case the “good old refrains” of about wise Joseph Vissarionovich can be interpreted as the progress to the attitudes that were new to that part of the close-knit group.

Another aspect of progress question is a problem of evaluating totalitarian consciousness of the educators according to the modern visions of democratic teachers and students. This historicism will not limit me in parallel in behavior of the students and teachers of de-Stalinization with the reaction of their colleagues either from the early Soviet Ukraine or with present-day ones. This, of course, will not lead to the modernizing the initial views of the educators onto the country and the world. They undoubtedly were influenced by the specifics of time and political

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<sup>1</sup> Tylor, E.B. Anthropology: an introduction to the study of man and civilization (London: Macmillan and Co, 1881), 448.

<sup>2</sup> Delyezh, Robert. Narysy z istoriyi antropolohiyi: Shkoly. Avtory. Teoriyi (Kyiv: Vyd. dim: Kyevo-Mohylyans'ka akademiya, 2008), 28.

<sup>3</sup> Tylor, E.B. Primitive culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art, and custom. In two volumes. Volume 1 (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1891), 38-39.

circumstances. Following French sociologist Georges Balandier<sup>1</sup>, I will compare more or less stable – anthropological points of perception of the everyday not distinguishing “them” from the totalitarian time and “us” from the independent state, seeing no difference between past and present constant human interests, of housing, attitude to money, family problems, moral, deviant behavior or others.

### “WITHOUT YOUR OWN VOICE?”

One of the principles of the study of the everyday political consciousness is the principle of objectivity. However, the problem of unbiased research is quite specific. Let me turn to conveniently Paul Newall’s comments about this:

*“A well-known example is the adage that “one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter”. Should an historian call the crossing of an army from one state to another in the past a war, a disagreement, a liberation, or any number of other possibilities, none of which are theoretically neutral? <sup>2</sup>”*

I think in the circumstances objectivity of everyday study has to be something other than an attempt to force the historian to “remove” himself from his own research. Therefore, I urge rather to understand ask to the progress to reach as many sources to conclusions under the objectivity of the study. Interviews, written document, photograph or statistics say much truer together; but apart they are quite conjunctural advisers.

### NETS OF PSYCHE

Of all the possible list of factors determining historical development, I will focus on the psychological determinism. The German historian Karl Lamprecht already in the nineteenth century suggested that the behavior of groups of people (in his opinion, the main and real creators of history) was determined by psychological factors<sup>3</sup>. Identical point of view about the origins of social history in

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<sup>1</sup> Delyezh, Robert. *Narysy z istoriyi antropolohiyi: Shkoly. Avtory. Teoriyi* (Kyiv: Vyd. dim: Kyevo-Mohylyans'ka akademiya, 2008), 244.

<sup>2</sup> Newall P. *Philosophy of History*. URL: [http://www.galilean-library.org/site/index.php/page/index.html/\\_/essays/introducingphilosophy/18-philosophy-of-history-r35](http://www.galilean-library.org/site/index.php/page/index.html/_/essays/introducingphilosophy/18-philosophy-of-history-r35)

<sup>3</sup> Lamprecht K. *What is history? Five lectures on the modern science of history* (New York, London, Macmillan Co., 1905), 227.

social psychology was expressed by the Russian scientist Nikolai Kareev<sup>1</sup>. All socio-economic relations arising in the society are consequently determined by the characteristics of the worldview of the separate group of people. Lucien Febvre initially stated that one who builds their understanding of historical events on the foundations of the social psyche could be considered to be the true historian. In his work “Combats pour l'histoire” (1952) he observed the great number of people who said farewell to History with the complaining that they were not able to discover anything new in its seas studied far and wide. The historian advised to plunge into the darkness of Psychology entwined with History to regain once again a taste for research<sup>2</sup>.

In my work I appeal to the principal of the psychological determinism of the every-day events. The methodological framework of this approach in history was developed by Boris Porshnev<sup>3</sup> and explains that the behavior of teachers was determined not only by their social role, but also by the attitude to their social activity and to different events and phenomena of the life in the country. Among the motives of their deeds one can name social attitudes and emotions of individuals as well as of the entire teaching staff. It could be a shame (the shame before the staff was a controller of everyday life, a stimulus in educational and production spheres), a fear (for example, a fear of possible reprisals defined unanimity of voting for political statements), modesty (the Soviet modesty urged to the specific understanding of the problems of housing), or hatred (artificially created hatred towards the political outsiders).

However, psychological determinism should be combined with a description of the world of feelings and preferences without caricature and stereotypes. The aim of the re-creating the everyday consciousness of the closed group is identical to that of Ruth Benedict formulated, considering the culture of the country *Rising Sun*: not to find out how one would act in place of the Japanese (in my case, in place of the teachers of Khrushchev era), but to know why they acted exactly as they did. It is not about judging someone, but about understanding them<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Kareev, N.I. *Istoriologiya: Teoriya istoricheskogo protsessa* (reprintnoye izdaniye 1915 goda). (Mjskva: Librokom, 2011), 328.

<sup>2</sup> Fevr, L. *Boi za istoriyu* (Mjskva: Nauka, 1991), 109.

<sup>3</sup> Porshnev, B.F. “Kontr suggestiya istorii (Elementratnoye sotsial'no-psikhologicheskoye yavleniye i yego transformatsii v razvitii chelovechestva)” in *Istoriya i psikhologiya / Pod red. B.F. Porshneva, L.I. Antsyferovoy* (Moskva: Nauka, 1971), 7-35.

<sup>4</sup> Delyezh, Robert. *Narysy z istoriyi antropohiyi: Shkoly. Avtory. Teoriyi* (Kyiv: Vyd. dim: Kyevo-Mohylyans'ka akademiya, 2008), 94.

Therefore, psychological determinism makes it clear that the description of the history of the teaching staff without emotional coloring and conversion to the individual or collective psyche is futile attempt to adequate recreation of the contemporary reality.

### “THE BOILER OF INTERDISCIPLINARITY”

The key of the completeness of the conclusions in the research of the worldview of educators is an approach to the problem not only from the standpoint of history. Lucien Febvre warmly encouraged:

*“Historians, you must become geographers. You must also be lawyers, sociologists and psychologists”<sup>1</sup>.*

The vision of the latest development of the history of Soviet society proposed by Nataliya Shlikhta echoes him. She draws attention of modern Ukrainian scholars to an active dialogue of history with sociology, ethnology and anthropology, to the increased attention to the interpersonal and intergroup interactions, to viewing the events from the perspective of their participants, to learning routines and various social practices<sup>2</sup>.

Perhaps the interdisciplinary of that research mostly embodied in the application of the anthropological approach to the study of the stuffs of the pedagogical institutes. Explaining my interest in the anthropology, I could have attached my voice to the voice Godfrey Lienhardt<sup>3</sup> who stated that historians turned their heads toward anthropology when they exhausted the field of research for their doctoral works. However, I'd rather illustrate it with the definition of Edward Evans-Pritchard, who proposed to understand the role of anthropologist as a role of a social photographer<sup>4</sup>. So the re-creation of the past is similar to the “description of the negatives” of the human consciousness about the events they experienced. Moreover, the anthropology has all necessary arsenal of methods that history sometimes lacks so much. Małgorzata Irek openly noted about it in one of her works:

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<sup>1</sup> Fevr, L. *Boi za istoriyu* (Mjskva: Nauka, 1991), 37.

<sup>2</sup> Shlikhta, N. *Istoriya radyans'koho suspil'stva: Navch. posibnyk* (Kyiv: Vydavnycho-polihrafichnyy tsentr NaUKMA, 2010), 10.

<sup>3</sup> Lienhardt, G. “Anthropology and the View from Afar” in *JASO*, Vol. XXVIII, 1997, no.1, 183.

<sup>4</sup> Delyezh, Robert. *Narysy z istoriyi antropolohiyi: Shkoly. Avtory. Teoriyi* (Kyiv: Vyd. dim: Kyevo-Mohylyans'ka akademiya, 2008), 158.

*“Of all disciplines in the social sciences, anthropology, with its qualitative methods such as participant observation and informal interviews, seems most suitable for researching informal social networks<sup>1</sup>.”*

Another attraction of anthropological approach in the historical studies of everyday was in the fact that researchers started to conduct anthropology not only as the science studying the primitive society, but moved its research borders far beyond the questions of evolution of the family, marriage or other social. David Gellner has noted about this recently:

*“In an earlier age, some of my predecessors could calmly and blithely define anthropology as the study of simple societies, safe in the knowledge that other disciplines would not invade their territory, and safe also in the knowledge that the people they wrote about would not read what they had written<sup>2</sup>.”*

In fact, it anthropology on the one chess-board with sociology, modern history or with the political science, which easily maneuver with their reflections on current events as well as events from the near past. My explorations of everyday are just of those that could be and are being currently read by those about whom they were written. And I need to confess, that the life showed that some of them accept with hostility the conclusions of a man who was looking at the years of their youth not under the same angle they used to present them to the public. On the one hand, it's a good invitation for the scientific discussion; on the other, it's equally good motive for some personal insults. However, I hope that my use of the modern scientific instruments for my crucial conclusions will ensure them that was unwilling for the unbridled criticism of their past that, in fact, in many ways is similar to the present days.

One of the main destinations for the historian to move with the anthropologism in the arsenal, I'd consider to be the need to merge into the environment the consciousness of which is studied; to grow into in the encirclement; to become a part of the team showing your difference in the locality and outlook as the modern anthropologist Mils Hills advises to do in his studies of contemporary identity of

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<sup>1</sup> Irek M. “Black no more: towards a new theoretical framework for studies of social space connected with the ‘informal economy’ ” in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no. 2, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Gellner, D.N. “The awkward social science? Anthropology on schools, elections and revolution in Nepal” in *JASO-online, New Series*, Vol. I, 2009, no.2, 118.

the farmers of Cornwall<sup>1</sup>. It was frankly easy for me to resort to studying of the consciousness of the educators of the UkrSSR because I myself was a graduate of the Pedagogical University, worked in the field of education, and knew students' and teachers' problems, as can be said, "in the original." In case when you are thinking about the study of the evolution of consciousness of the collective of the establishments you understand nothing, I had to advise to wear either a medical or working gown and to join the team to know it inside out.

However, it has to be noted that anthropology is not a panacea from all "diseases" in the historical study. The active followers of anthropologism Marc Augé and Jean-Paul Colleyn call to remember about the "precariousness" of the methods and "uncertainty" of the conclusions naked of the anthropology<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, interdisciplinary is not limited only by the union of the history of anthropology. Josep R. Llobera once again recently said:

*"In the past fifteen years I have often emphasized in my writings the importance of psychology and sociobiology for the survival of anthropologists as scientists<sup>3</sup>".*

So, the interdisciplinary approach will force the historian if not deepen his knowledge, then at least remember anew the university courses of psychology, sociology or even valeology that so insistently used to offered to study the signs of sexually transmitted diseases.

### **"THE PRINCIPLE OF ARGOS"**

Argos Panoptes was titan with one hundred eyes from the Greek mythology, who guarded with is vigilant eyes the world. It is with the Argus that I mostly identify the scientific principle of comprehensiveness, which requires the researcher to analyze phenomena not as separate events but in their relationships and interactions with other social facts close to them. According to this principle, the researcher should provide the completeness and comprehensiveness of the study, and this requires an examination of the problem in terms not of a single

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<sup>1</sup> Hills, M. "Conflicts and Contrasts of Identity in a Changing Cornish Village" in *JASO*, Vol.XXVIII, 1997, no.2, 149.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander, P. "Marc Augé and Jean-Paul Colleyn, *The World of the Anthropologist*, Oxford and New York: Berg 2006, vi, 134 pp. (Review)" in *JASO-online. New Series*, Vol.I, 2009, no.1, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Llobera J.R. "From Micro to Macro: An Unsolved Problem in British Anthropology" in *JASO*, Vol.XXXI, 2000, no.1, 151.

aspect, but taking into account all sides that form the common vision of the situation.

In my case, “many-eyed” Argus of the comprehensiveness stands for portraying not just the reaction of teachers to the changes in the socio-political system, but for looking at the problem of their vision of the world from the perspective of the state, from the side of the institutions adjacent to the pedagogical institutes, from the point of numerous documents of the CPSU, local authorities, schools, factories and so on. Of course, the circle of that survey is incredibly broad. So before diving into the jungle of the archives, I’ll recommend to recall the words of Emile Durkheim told to nephew Marcel Mauss. He asked not to go deeply into useless erudition. The scientist convinced that a study “all facts” was unreal and had no sense. Instead Durkheim urged to look for the decisive facts<sup>1</sup>.

Armed with this knowledge, I understand the comprehensiveness not the accumulation of as many facts of the reactions to the surrounding reality but the analysis of the broader number of components of the problem. For example, researching the attitude of teachers to the reforms in the agricultural sector of the country, we should look more at how activities of the educators in the fields of the country were interpreted by the teachers and students themselves, by the directorate of the universities, how it was commented in the regional, district or city Party Committees, in the Central Committee of the CPSU or in some kolkhozes but we shouldn’t try to describe all measures of educators in the field of agriculture. Otherwise the analysis of all annual agricultural practices of the students held in springs and autumns of each of 12 years of de-Stalinization could fill the volumes of research, but not its separate section. On the other hand, the agricultural innovations should be analyzed not only from the standpoint of production successes and failures, but from the perspective of their connection with the everyday life, financially state, ideology, nutrition, the area of psychology of enforcement and initiatives of the students, in the fields of deviant behavior, emotional and physical exhaustion, etc.

## **THE SYSTEM**

One of the crucial principles that will help to deal with changes in the minds of educators is the principle of consistency and, as a consequence, the use of its inherent systemic approach, rather complete interpretation of which can be found in

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<sup>1</sup> Delyezh, Robert. *Narysy z istoriyi antropolohiyi: Shkoly. Avtory. Teoriyi* (Kyiv: Vyd. dim: Kyevo-Mohylyans'ka akademiya, 2008), 38.

the monograph by Viktor Afanasyev<sup>1</sup>. According to it, every problem in the everyday life of teaching staffs of the SPIs of the UkrSSR (or rather its development in the minds of teachers and in the real life) should be seen as a set of components that interact in different ways.

The attention should be paid not only to the general model but also to the individual behavior. The study methods of it were applied by Michael Saltman in his studies of Antigua society:

*“The method takes the behavior of individuals as a point of departure and tries to ascribe meaning to these individual behaviors. The meanings are implicitly understood by the actors themselves<sup>2</sup>”.*

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<sup>1</sup> Afanas'yev, Viktor. *Sistemnost' i obshchestvo* (Moskva: Politizdat, 1980), 386.

<sup>2</sup> Saltman, Michael. “Methodological Points of Reference in a Loosely Structured Society: Fieldwork in Antigua, West Indies” in *JASO*, Vol. XXX, 1999, no.1, 18.



### 3

## Communist Mythology

### INTRODUCTION

Soviet society was firstly the materialistic one. The building of the strongest and the wealthiest state on Earth was the leading goal of the whole country. Thus its citizens were to be the richest and the happiest ones. All troubles in their lives with poverty were named transient obstacles on the way to Communism. While reading periodicals and watching documentaries of mid-XX century one can find pretty ideal everyday life of the Ukrainian people. But, as Viktor Kotsur has noticed, the immersion into the secrets of everyday life helps to refute the myths of the totalitarian system in the best way<sup>1</sup>.

The evolution of political consciousness of educators distinguishes among the studied range of problems. The reason of attention to the issue is logical. The historian John Robert Seeley in the late XIX century argued that History was actually the past of politics and politics manifested as modern history<sup>2</sup>. The idea of the subject of Ukrainian national history had been kept in the fairways of the history of the state since the Soviet times. The most significant layer of researches therefore was formed with the works revealing “the view of the historians from above” as they were called by Peter Burke. It was true because the scientist described politics, state building and prominent political figures first of all.

However, the main components in the current study of everyday life of the educators of the UkrSSR are not politicians themselves but their images in the minds of the people. Why images? The Ukrainian philosopher Yevhen Sverstyuk was lecturing to the students of Poltava SPI in 1957 saying that “*image is a focus reflection of life*”<sup>3</sup>. Repeating the words of the famous contemporary, I can state that the collective image of politicians was formed as the focus of their actions and expressions of opinion about them. People hated or idolized not the real Stalin but

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<sup>1</sup> Kotsur, Viktor, “Vstupne slovo” in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka* (Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky, 2010), 9.

<sup>2</sup> Seeley, J. R. *Expansion of England: two courses of lectures* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1914), 189-207.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.620. ark.321.

the image that they produced in their minds under the influence of personal preferences, collective mood in the micro-groups and of ideological pressure.

The proposed study deals with the political component of the self-identification of the Ukrainians of the mid-XX<sup>th</sup> century. Truly, the Soviet Union was as a stained glass created from the nations with their own languages, values and beliefs glued with the totalitarian pitch. Thus, there should have been a difference in influence on the conciseness of various folks in the stripy state. And it was. In our recent essays we have already covered the peculiarities of the creating of Ukrainian national or pseudo-national identification during the Soviet rule<sup>1</sup> with the new pantheon of heroes and “cursed” betrayers<sup>2</sup>. The Communist state also had the strict plan of molding of new language identification in the Ukrainian environment<sup>3</sup> as well as influencing the elite in creating of the specific common global worldview<sup>4</sup>.

All but the last had the differences that one can identify as “national significance” or a distinct Ukrainian Soviet identification. This variety existed because the Country was seeking the ways to the unification inside the aboriginal nations once added to the melting pot of the Socialist land. The state of the minds in the topic of the world politics was pretty closer to the problem of the current study. The USSR enforced all its ideas only through the strong state position. We can endlessly argue on the question of autonomy or sovereignty of the UkrSSR, on the issues of “the national specifics” of the policy of the Ukrainization once being

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<sup>1</sup> Lukyanenko, Oleksandr. “Als Brüder werden wir für immer mit Moskau sein”: Markierungen (pseudo)nationaler Identifikation der Lehrerschaft der UkrSSR zur Zeit des „Tauwetters“ (1953 – 1964)” in *IV. Internationale virtuelle Konferenz der Ukrainistik "Dialog der Sprachen - Dialog der Kulturen. Die Ukraine aus globaler Sicht" Reihe: Internationale virtuelle Konferenz der Ukrainistik Bd. 2013.* (. Herausgegeben von Olena Novikova, Peter Hilkes, Ulrich Schweier. Verlag Otto Sagner, München Berlin, 2014), 546-559.

<sup>2</sup> Lukyanenko, Oleksandr. “Ukrajina-Rosija-Svit: Bermuds'kyj trykutnyk u svitohljadi osvitanj povojennyh pedahohičnych instytutiv URSR” in *Jahrbuch der V. Internationalen virtuellen Konferenz der Ukrainistik "Dialog der Sprachen - Dialog der Kulturen. Die Ukraine aus globaler Sicht" Reihe: Internationale virtuelle Konferenz der Ukrainistik. Bd. 2014* (Herausgegeben von Olena Novikova, Peter Hilkes, Ulrich Schweier. Verlag Otto Sagner, München Berlin, 2015), 484-500.

<sup>3</sup> Lukyanenko, Oleksandr. “Unsere Kinder verschmähen die ukrainische Sprache...“: Aufklärer der Sowjetukraine an der Sprachfront „Tauwetter“. In *Jahrbuch der III. Internationale virtuelle Konferenz der Ukrainistik "Dialog der Sprachen - Dialog der Kulturen. Die Ukraine aus globaler Sicht" Reihe: Internationale virtuelle Konferenz der Ukrainistik. Bd. 2012* (Herausgegeben von Olena Novikova, Peter Hilkes, Ulrich Schweier. Verlag Otto Sagner, München Berlin, 2013). 320- 342.

<sup>4</sup> Lukyanenko, Oleksandr. “Hnani, kljati j byti: ukrajins'kyj nacional'nyj panteon u časy «vidlyhy» (1953-1964 rr.)” in *Jahrbuch der VI. Internationalen virtuellen Konferenz der Ukrainistik "Dialog der Sprachen - Dialog der Kulturen. Die Ukraine aus globaler Sicht" Reihe: Internationale virtuelle Konferenz der Ukrainistik. Bd. 2015* (Herausgegeben von Olena Novikova, Peter Hilkes, Ulrich Schweier. Verlag Otto Sagner, München Berlin, 2016), 574-588.

choked by Stalin or on other points of national liberalization during all 70-year period of the Communist rule.

However, VKP(b) (then CPSU) made all its best to eliminate any signs of the unique Ukrainian Communism inside Ukapists, Borotbists and others. And by the time discussed in this study – the early 1950's – the central power tolerated no regional diversity in the question of political thought. One could have worn embroidered shirt but “The brief course of the history of VKP (b)” by Stalin should have been the gospel of political truth. If answering the question whether there was a specific Ukrainian Soviet identification I'd say “Surely, there was one”. But the scope of the study is not national but Party authentication. Was there any political difference when even KP(b)U copied the laws and orders of its “supreme sister” in Moscow? Keeping this in mind I propose to find the specifics of the formation of the Soviet political identity on the Ukrainian examples – the works of country's poets, artists and educators. They were the ones who added the local color to the routine process of mincing worldviews.

The beginning of the XXI century was marked by a broad campaign started by the Russian Orthodox Church against new religious movements that Orthodox clerics dubbed as “destructive totalitarian sects.” The war for control over the human minds continues on all fronts. Orthodox missionaries are trying to find destructive and violent totalitarian elements in the actions, statements and ideas of each denomination that is different from the official Russian State Orthodoxy. However, “sect-fighters” of the XXI century seek the worst and the most violent elements of enslaving a free human mind in the organizations that, in fact, are acting merely as toy-shops compared with what 1/3 of the globe went through in the recent years. Indeed, it is 70 years of Soviet hypnotic power with the greatest confidence can be classified as the most successful period of “totalitarian sect.” That name corresponded to the Communist consciousness much better than to the modern secular movements.

That was noted long before today. Russian religious philosopher Nikolay Berdyaev mentioned in his work *“Origins and Sense of Russian Communism”* that *“monism of the totalitarian state in any case is not compatible with Christianity, it turns the State into the church”*<sup>1</sup>. The specific was only in the usage of local artists, educators and images to fulfill the mission of ideological expansion. Thus, the difference in the creating of the godlike image of the totalitarian leader in hearts and minds of the Ukrainians will diverge from the same Russian variant mostly in

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<sup>1</sup> Berdyaev, Nikolai. The origins and meaning of Russian communism (Moscow. AST, 2006), 40.

illustrations but not in methods. In this chapter we will have a look on the basic elements that made political consciousness of the Soviet citizens in general and educators in particular look like the religious worldview.

### THE TRUE DOCTRINE

The first point is the creation of the doctrine. Communist society was formed with the help of the severe control over the information circulation. Everything read, written and proclaimed was under the censorship of the party organs. No wonder there was a constant hunger for information. The state used the special controlled methods of dosage of information given to the public. In such deficit of knowledge of the events the close-knit and self-isolated community as rule is put forward a set of ideas that with time turns into the doctrine. The Country of Soviets as no other in the world could have boasted of elaborated doctrine of social development. Detailed and promoted from each city square and village street, it was thrown to the masses as a source of understanding the way to the Flourishing Future. Thousands of trees had died in order to bring to ordinary citizens the tenets of the “Manifesto of the Communist Party” or the next brilliant reasoning of the “Great Leader” Stalin. Thus, only a single Stalin’s speech “On the task of the executives” and “On industrialization and the right slope of the CPSU (b)” issued 125,000 copies only in the Ukrainian<sup>1</sup>. The data revealed after the death of Joseph Stalin spoke for itself. The implantation into the consciousness of the masses of the “correct” – Stalinist – attitude towards the reality by the year 1953 had been made with the help of 9.000 editions of the works of “the greatest thinker” in 101 languages with total circulation of 672 million 58 thousand copies (!)<sup>2</sup>. If to keep in mind that the population of the USSR in 1953 was close to 188 million people, we see that theoretically each citizen could own 3 or 4 books written by the “father on nations.” That was more than enough to convince oneself in the sanctity of the teaching.

The teachings of Communism spread “from Moscow to the outskirts” not only as an abstract theory living in the pages of dusty books. In fact, numerous attempts were made (and it is worth noting that quite successful) to turn the doctrine into the reality. There were numerous permanent restructuring of the teaching courses in

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<sup>1</sup> “Vydannya ukrayinskoyu movoyu promov tovarysha Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina “Pro zavdannya hospodarnykyv” ta “Pro industrializatsiyu krayiny I pravyi ukhyl u VKP(b)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 22, 1957, no.38, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Vydannya v SRSR tvoriv Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina ”, *Prapor Stalina*, March 15, 1953, no.24, 1.

universities and schools after each ideological infusion from above. We can recall the fateful period of the forced “revival” of the illogical Stalin’s doctrine of language that swept over the Soviet Union in the early 1950s. The idea of the supreme and non-perspective languages was thrown to the masses after being born by the decrepit mind of the old-aged dictator. The theory was created but the masses had to suck it as mother’s milk – constantly and effectively.

To accomplish that, the educators were forced to rewrite the study programs one more time. The new teaching became the part of old courses and new special seminars where the “genius” statements of Stalin were explained to the public. Even the special councils for teachers were held so the “linguistic truth” can be translated to the new generations without disfigurement<sup>1</sup>. The seed of the new ideological norm was planted. It was watered by the daily routine. Thus, the students had an obligation to study and brilliant work of living classic and to refer to it during every study project. For example, Fedir Butko from Poltava SPI was criticized for not using couple of references on Stalin’s linguistic work in his history course report in 1953<sup>2</sup>. But the young educators were not the only ones to suffer from the dominance of the new communist theory of languages. The university professors had to correct their plans of scientific research works to reinforce the loyalty to the theory of the state leader<sup>3</sup>.

As any mystical doctrine, the Soviet one was too much complicated and tricky coded by the numerous theoretical generalizations and new interpretation of the previous truths. So it was really hard for its ordinary “believers” to verify its truthfulness. The questions could appear only in three cases: if you were in the circle of the opponents of the regime, between the lecturers of the Marxism-Leninism during the long targeted debates or simply in times of “domestic philosophizing” in the small communal kitchen when the everyday problems were drowned with the liquid of “Stolichnaya” vodka.

The architects of a totalitarian society understood the mechanisms of ideological aggression. So they struggled to distract people from thinking about the essence of the ideology driving people’s attention to the numerous socially important and necessary to the state affairs. Being involved in solving the problems (or thinking about being involved), the Soviet citizens paid little attention to the disparity of the doctrine and the reality. As an example, we can name large constructions of Communism – The Baikal-Amur Mainline, The Volga-Don Canal,

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<sup>1</sup> M. V. “Rayonnoye soveshchniye uchiteley”, *Stalinskiy put’*, January, 11, 1951, no.4, 1.

<sup>2</sup> APNPU, f. 1 (z/v), op. 1956 (B-I), spr. 2289. Butko Fedir Ilkiv (1951-1956), ark.23.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.166, ark.16

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

The Dnipro Hydroelectric Plant, and Poltava (then The Dnipro) Mining Processing Plant and so on. But even they were organized to strengthen the love to they leaders and to their ideas. The beginning of the large building, which had to take the person from the reflection, was crowned with the names of famous geniuses who lead forward along the steadfast way to the Communism. Oles Yurchenko, a Poltava poet of the last century, the student of Teacher's Institute of Poltava, enthusiastically wrote in 1953 confirming that statement:

*And are tirelessly growing  
New building in our side.  
Along with Lenin's, is glowing  
Stalin's name far and wide<sup>1</sup>.*

*І ростуть, ростуть невпинно  
В нас прекрасні ново буди.  
Разом з ленінським сіяє  
Ім'я Сталіна усюди*



Picture 3.1. Poster "The great Constructions of the Communism" showing the map of the completed GOELRO plan with hydroplants in the country saying: "Our victory is their defeat"

To avoid the unwilling search for truth among the ideologically processed masses, every conscious Communist had to hold large amounts of lectures. For taking the teaching to the masses was the process all neophytes were engaged in throughout the history of humankind. The Soviet disciples did it as well as constantly replenished the communal treasury with the "tithe" – party

contributions. However, during these educational meetings with masses the lecturer himself lost capability of analysis, becoming a normal transmitter and receiver of the information filtered by the state. Educators were the leaders among those reading ideological lectures to the people in kolkhozes. At plants, in city halls and everywhere needed. The lectors were recruited from the students as well – from the

<sup>1</sup> Yurenko, Ole's. "Imeni Lenina", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 22, 1953. No.16, 3.

rows of all-able to say what they were asked to. It was a real mental mockery. It exhausted not only emotionally but also physically. So teachers and students of the Poltava SPI were frequent guests of various institutions and organizations, where they had large number of lectures. Sometimes the scale of the accomplished ideological work was impressive when one group of lectures was reading up to 34 reports on the related topics at a time<sup>1</sup>.

Soviet doctrine, though being dressed in robes of the scientific dialectical materialism, in fact, was not projected to be understood. The width of material and the infinity of spheres of its influence convinced that one had to believe in it first. Moreover, that turned it into a universal truth. The “real understanding” of the vague canons became the achievement of a narrow elite group of lecturers of the historical and dialectical materialism – the interpreter of the ideology. However, even they were not the bearers of the original truth. The special meetings were organized for their enlightenment regularly. The newspapers even published the schedules of the study course in the school of political education<sup>2</sup>. In addition, being taught, they designed the models of delivering that Soviet truth to the masses.

To ensure the correct interpretation of the “Word” that had come through the sieve of mass consciousness, the center published some “Abstracts...” They had the only faith canons and rules among their lines to correlate the public opinion n with the legitimated one. That happened even after the death of the “brilliant manipulator” Stalin. Communist party successfully used his methods long after the dictator’s death. Among such examples we find the official point of view on arts through Nikita Khrushchev’s speech “For the close relationship of literature and art with life of the people<sup>3</sup>” or the legitimized explanation of history in the Abstracts of the Department of agitation and propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the CPSU “To the forty anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (1917-1957)<sup>4</sup>”.

All others, for whom the doctrine seemed difficult and obscure, already had the answer if they found some discrepancies that had not been polished yet by the ideological sculptors. They should work hard for the public, because when you did

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4829, ark.-78.

<sup>2</sup> “Prymirnyi navchal’nyi plan zanyat”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 9, 1957, no.201, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Khrushchev, Mykyta. “Za tisnyi zvyazol literatury I mystetstva z ahyttyam narody”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 1, 1957, no.173, 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> “Do sorokarichchya Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi Sotsialistychnoyi Revolutsiyi (1917-1957). Tezy viddilu prpahandy a ahitatsiyi TsK KPRS ta Instytutu marksyzmu-leninizmu pry TsK KPRS”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 17, 1957, no.185, 1-3.

not have enough skills to grasp the Communist idea, you should not bother those who had already found the light.

## THE DEVIDED WORLD

Soviet machine as true totalitarian sect, tried to create its own world living on its own rules. In addition, it did not stand on the three elephants and a turtle. Everything was as in old Zoroastrian dualist religion. As befits a doctrine that intends to control the masses, the universe was divided into two parallel worlds – “them” and “us”, “black” and “white” (or better to say “red”), “good” and “bad”. Not only ideology workers, but also artists labored for the benefit of this idea. Therefore, the Ukrainian poet Maksym Rylskyi sanctified this foundation of Soviet totalitarian sects with his lines:

*There are two forces on the Earth, the one is shining to the backward,  
The slavery is pedestal, the lie is its upright,  
Before the second – there is a boom of songs of all the world,  
The gardens of the future and surf of art<sup>1</sup>*



*Дві сили на землі: одна зорить в минуле,  
Їй рабство – н'єдестал, брехня – підпора їй, –  
А перед другою – пісень всесвітніх гули,  
Сади майбутнього і творчості прибий*

Needless to specify what kind of power the poet meant under the victors in the struggle between good and evil?

As befits a closed religious formation, the Communist machine did not tolerate free interpretation of its norms and canons that could

*Picture 3.2. Poster against the UNO saying “Stop the criminals!” is a great example of old Soviet (and modern Russian) opposition to the world even inside the unifying organizations*

<sup>1</sup> Rylskyi, Maksym. *Vesnyana pisnya. Poeziyi* (Kyiv: Derzhlitvydav Ukrayiny, 1952), 16.



undermine its unquestionable right to own the truth. That is why the Soviet Union was constantly searching for and pursued representatives of the foreign “charities packs”. They were brought to the light so the ordinary people could see that “evil West” maintained “Trotskyists, Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, the bourgeois nationalists, members of kulak parties...” and so on. One of the last examples of those witch-hunts in the USSR was the case of “Joint” inspired by the inflated imagination of Stalin in winter of 1953. It was named the US intelligence branch to look more horrible<sup>1</sup>. But the successors kept the canons of “true socialism” not less zealously even after Stalin. It is seen on the struggle for the only truthfulness with the Yugoslav ideologies. Khrushchev in 1957 made it clear that all variants of national characteristics of socialism and “special paths” of the movement to Socialism... were considered damaging the case of socialist construction in this country as well as to the whole community of socialist states<sup>2</sup>. This meant the existence of a “new” socialist doctrine was a menace to the collective ideology and doctrine that allowed controlling the mass consciousness.

If the one wants general doctrinal norms of religious organizations to operate and for masses deftly execute orders, the religious group needs enemies. And there may be a large number of foes – the more the better for the unity. They can be immanent and transcendent, distant and close. Soviet leaders skillfully used the public hysteria about the conspiracy and debunking of all hidden destroyers of the Soviet social myth. It is worth mentioning almost theatrical trials of “mean-spirited Judas” Beria or “retrograde” quartet Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov and Shepilov that joined them.

Let’s pay attention to the fact that like most modern destructive religious cults, communist ideology tried to call enemies not only evil capitalists, but also relatives that somehow prevented the “true believers” in their progress to “the light of truth”. And the most successful example is a textbook example of Pavlik Morozov, who exposed his father to the Communist authorities and was in turn killed by his family. Perhaps he may be an illustration not only of communist loyalty, but also the religious tenet “*He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of Me*” (Matthew 10:37) in the light of the new – Communist – faith. But then it was better to love the Party not Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> “Dzhoynt” - filial amerykans'koyi rozvidky”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February, 20, 1953, no.36, 4.

<sup>2</sup> “Vidpovidi M. S. Khrushchova na zapytannya hazety “Rude pravo”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January, 20, 1957, no.1, 2.

Such facts are connected with the idea that members of a closed religious organization are imposed the idea of continuous monitoring of their actions. We will not remind of collective mania about the comprehensiveness of actions of the KGB in the Soviet Union. Its total monitoring of actions and words only strengthened close to the religious nature of power politics to be everywhere and to know everything. We will note, however, that such godly characteristics were transmitted to the party leader not to the specific authority body. Look at the words written by the 8th grade student of school №23 of Poltava Lyudmyla Synyahovska about the late Stalin in the days of mourning in March of 1953:

*He knew about everything, following everybody,  
He always found the needed word for each one*<sup>1</sup>      *Он знал обо всём, за всеми следил,  
Нужное слово для всех находил*

Not infrequently, the supporters of religious faith were told about their choosiness and uniqueness. The Soviet people felt themselves in a constant struggle for the salvation of the world. Just look at the title of one of the articles published in regional press of Sumy region in 1951 – “The Soviet people – the vanguard of progressive humanity”<sup>2</sup>. Their actions are actions of the chosen foremost of humankind. Here, in Eurasia, people took control over own history in their hands. This spurred them to outstanding titanic labor feats. Moreover, they were to become the model for imitation to all “dark” world.

Oddly enough, but such an understanding of their views and beliefs undoubtedly leads to the fact that people believe the adherents of opposing religions to be mesmerized slain servants of the dark arts. This is suitable for describing how workers of the USSR characterized the US colleagues as well as other “opposition” of to the Soviet Union. Even having the same problems and the same wishes, the American laborers did not learn the truth because of their own limitations and bias. Thus, even talented poet Andriy Malyshko joined the ideological propaganda when published a series of poems under the single name “Beyond the Blue Sea.” Among poetic lines we find the next ones:

*“I could not swallow sandwiches,  
See the false grace,  
That bread was like with poison*      *Не міг я сендвічів ковтати,  
Фальшиву бачить благодать,  
Той хліб неначе ув отруті*

<sup>1</sup> Pashko, Andriy. “Bezsmertya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April, 1, 1953, no.67, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lavrukhin, M. I. “Radyans’kyy narod – avanhard prohresyvnoho lyudstva “, *Bilshovytska zbroya*, November, 1, 1951, no.220, 2.

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*For me in Detroit and Portsmouth,  
For where I had then my route –  
The kids were begging for some bread.”<sup>1</sup>*

*Був у Детройті і в Портсмуті,  
Бо там, де слалися шляхи, –  
Просили хліба дітлахи*

In addition, backed by the voice of the inspired ones of that world, the ideological machine was wrapping more and more ordinary citizens, arguing that the West was living behind the veil of its own ignorance and ghostly values that had been debunked Muscovite rulers long before that.

The Soviet Union showed the best example of the rule associated with totalitarian sects according to which individuality is a subject to a collective spirit. The Soviet realm required to think about the country first, and only then about yourself. Everything came down to the fact that the fulfillment of individual needs and desires by the ordinary people regarded as a deviation from accepted norms. The solving of problems at work in many cases regarded as immoral behavior. They could hardly exist in the country of laborers. Individualists were persecuted by the mass zombied by the constant propaganda and demagoguery of the conformists who had learned to ignore personal reflections.

In order to keep followers under control, leaders of religious groups often change the entourage for organizing the hypnotic actions. The new environment helps to bring new emotions to the sacred dream. Something like that was coded in the organizing of the campaigns of they mega-buildings in the undeveloped lands of the USSR. The same method was present in the involvement of young followers of Komsomol into the agricultural deeds on the virgin lands. The same scope was hidden under the sending of newly graduated specialists from their native regions to the areas of the boundless state



**СЛАВА НАШЕМУ  
ВЕЛИКОМУ НАРОДУ!**  
И. СТАЛИН

*Picture 3.3. Poster with Joseph Stalin  
“Glory to Our Great Folk!”*, 1948. The parallel  
was obvious: saying “Stalin”, one should keep  
in mind “people”, saying “Soviet folk”, they  
should understand “Stalin”

<sup>1</sup> Malyshko, Andriy. *Novi obriyi. Virshi ta poeziyi* (Kyiv: Derzhlitvydav Ukrainy, 1953), 131.

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very different in culture, language and beliefs from their home. It was quite a successful method of permanent switch of attention from one activity to another during which a person perceived and created something new in the material sphere, not thinking about the problems of the doctrinal truth. In order to stay in constant state of readiness, the state also organized “career swing” when an imperious hand either threw the person up to the new career opportunities, or, on the contrary, dropped him below the known potential lowlands of the profession and social pyramid.

Needs mentioning another technology of mind control when the believer is always emphasized on immense goal that he could not reach, but still should work for his children to have an opportunity to harvest the results of his great aspirations. And people of the USSR really *believed* in it with all their hearts. Poltava poet Andriy Hrinchenko wrote in 1951:

*We hear the party from the Kremlin with hearts,  
It inspires in our hearts the faith  
That on our starry earth  
The eternal spring of commune will come<sup>1</sup>.*

*Серцем чуємо партію з Кремлю,  
В серце віру вселяє вона,  
Що на нашу на зоряну землю  
Прийде вічна комуни весна*

That was a dream and only we – the grandchildren of that generation – know if that communist spring has ever visited “the gardens” of the Soviet land.

One of the driving forces that moved the builders of Communism to be strong in their beliefs without asking questions was the fear inherent in most modern destructive religious organizations. Back in the middle of the XX century, they had their own “devils” who tried to seduce the true believers and to stain the light communist ideals. The periodicals urged to keep vigilance constantly, because there “*still were alive the vestiges of bourgeois ideology, there also preserved the carriers of bourgeois views and bourgeois morality – real people, hidden enemies of our folk<sup>2</sup>*”. In such circumstances when there always was some invisible dark force, one needed a “Soviet Creed of Faith” to dissociate himself with the invisible praying shield from these “ethereal” and not identified enemies who might stand in a queue and ride in a bus with every citizen.

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<sup>1</sup> Hrinchenko, Andriy. “Ya prokhodzhu shlyakhamy shyrokymy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January, 27, 1953, no.19, 3.

<sup>2</sup> “Leninizm – pobidonosnyy prapor borot'by za komunizm”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January, 21, 1953, no.15, 1.

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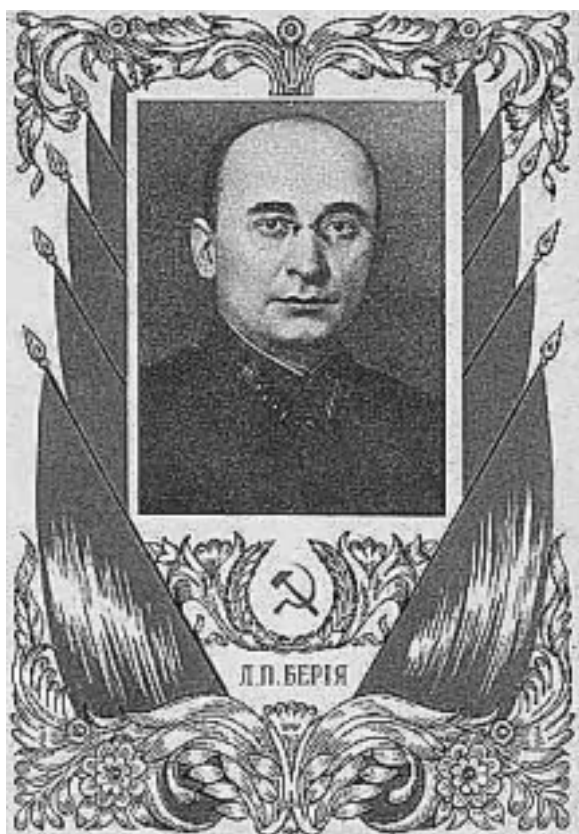
Moreover, of course, everyone in a close-knit religious community has to follow the leader. Otherwise, it is not worth talking about any loyalty to the ideals. This issue should be widely discussed in further studies. Here we just note that Soviet people as religious neophytes tried to get a decent mentor, proven in the ideological battles. The students and lecturers of higher school were one of those who stepped forward with after each call of the Party. They went to the wide public and set the examples to follow on the path to the taking after the ideal leader in Moscow.

The coordinated work of the ideological political machine of the USSR of mid-twentieth century was based on the similar positions and quite recalled activities of most totalitarian religious organizations of today. That is why the political everyday life of the educators of the UkrSSR we considered from the point of dominance of “political religion.” It had its hidden mechanisms of action until the demiurge of the Soviet society led it from the Kremlin. However, the time has changed. In addition, as a life of the destructive sect – the being of the totalitarian state came to the end when the resources of the Communist Religion came to the end. And now, living in Ukraine after de-Communization laws of 2015, looking at the attempts of the USSR-philis to use the lost memory of the past in destructive activities of the behalf of pro-Russian terrorists and standing on the pieces of that demolished Communist Colossus, I once again remind to myself the truth, reviled by Strugatsky brothers that it is really “hard to be a god” in the society of the free minds. As a conclusion, we can state several thought:

- the political identity of the Soviet Ukrainians was molded according to All-Soviet patterns,
- the specifics was seen only in the usage of local artists, educators and images to fulfill the mission of ideological expansion,
- the formation of the “sacred image” of the totalitarian leader in hearts and minds of the Ukrainians bore the same characters as the Russian model varying mostly in illustrations but not in methods,
- the Soviet citizens didn’t pay much attention to the disparity of the doctrine and the reality,
- the educators were among the leaders of those reading ideological lectures to the people mostly always losing capability of analysis, becoming a normal transmitters and receivers of the information filtered by the state,
- the “real awareness” of the Political canons was the privilege of a small elite group who gained the right to interpret ideology.

4

**“Sub-Tropical Serpent Beria”**



**INTRODUCTION**

There are always some secrets hiding behind the screen of the big politics. The mighty ones are not very willing to tell the mysteries of their political cuisine to the masses. That's why the realm is foggy and unclear to the most of the country until something critical shakes the elite. However, the hunger for information makes wonders with the human mind. It looks for the facts that were kept in silence by the official sources. And very often, finding none of them, people's consciousness makes up the facts in the shapes it wants to see the reality but not as it is. And then the statesmen feel the need to catch the general mood. They take made-up images as a new truth and lead masses not to be thrown to the doghouse by the crowd.

A similar situation occurred in 1953 with one of the leaders of the state – Lavrentiy Beria. Once a powerful figure of the Soviet machine, he was banished

under the veil of secrecy. Soviet people than created stories of his unexpected removal. But the state kept silence on the real reasons of the act. That gave birth to the first post-Stalin political myths that are still flourishing.

Some scientists, such as Vladimir Shamberg, believe Beria to be the source of real political evil for the USSR:

*“Had Beria won, he would have been a dictator, maybe worse than Stalin. It is impossible to present him as a liberal reformer. As a Russian proverb goes: You can wash and wash a black dog, but he will not become white”<sup>1</sup>.*

He assumes that Beria even couldn't have stopped in using the H-Bomb in his plans<sup>2</sup>. Others considered him a pioneer of de-Stalinization process who was one of the first to feel the duality of the situation in which the country found itself after the death of the “leader of the peoples” Joseph Stalin<sup>3</sup>. Willingly or unwillingly having started the campaign of providing Soviet Socialism with the “human” (relatively democratic) face, Beria was caught in the grip of political competition. There started a cruel political game that was called “Kto Kavo” by the American Sovietologists Abraham Brumberg<sup>4</sup>.

In this great game, millions of Soviet citizens, who were forced to react with lightning speed to all the changes in ideological orientations, to the anathema and canonization of the next “political saints” of the communist pantheon, appeared to be almost “enslaved actors”. A special place among them belongs to the staff of pedagogical institutes. They themselves ambiguously interpreted their position: their profession forced them to be both an object of influence and one of the most effective ideological weapons of the state. They were forging pedagogical personnel and their perception of the world, which then affected the hundreds of world outlooks of small Soviet citizens. The fact of how clear and understandable that worldview would be depended on the actions and decisions of the Center. However, in the situation with Lavrentiy Pavlovich, the clarity was lost. And the reason was, perhaps, in the fact that the broad non-party masses shaped their world outlook mostly through the press and personal experiences. But for the majority of

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<sup>1</sup> Shamberg, Vicor. “Beria Had No Liberalization in Mind”, *The New York Times*, November 12, 1993,.3.

<sup>2</sup> “We Have the H-Bomb: (1953): in our pages: 100, 75 and 50 years ago”, *The New York Times*, August 9, 2003, 1.

<sup>3</sup> “World Briefing: Europe: Russia: Dossier On Beria”, *The New York Times*, January 18, 2003, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Brumberg, Abraham. “KTO KAVO? The politics of the struggle for power. Introduction” in *Russia under Khrushchev...* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 69.

population, as aptly noted Mykola Breheda, everything connected with the case of Beria was “a mystery under seven seals”<sup>1</sup>.

The political everyday of educators was not significantly different from the political everyday of other citizens of the UkrSSR during the “thaw”. The Soviet government organized most of the political campaigns in an atmosphere of full shift of people’s attention from the urgent things. Despite the existence of artificially created scattering attention, life also made its corrections. The formation of a new image of Lavrentiy Beria in the minds of educators was affected by the death of Stalin. On the one hand, it gave impetus to the reshaping of public administration in the USSR. From the other, it was a quite powerful factor of distraction of people’s attention from the very struggle for power. The “secret” revolution outside Kremlin corridors looked like a Leninist-Stalinist evolution. The Resolution of the joint meeting of the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR published on 03, July of 1953 showed ordinary people the updated pyramid of power. Lavrentiy Beria received the post of Deputy Chairman of the CM, the Minister of Internal Affairs (combined authority of MIA and Ministry of State Security) and entered the Presidium of the Central Committee<sup>2</sup>. However, a new status did not change the image of L. Beria in the everyday perception of the educators. Press still positioned him not as an independent political actor, but as a successor of the late dictator Stalin<sup>3</sup>. And everyone had a memory strengthened even by the everyday news that he always was near “The Great Leader” on holidays and weekdays as a shadow<sup>4</sup>. So, right after the death of Stalin, teachers, mourning for the dead dictator, did not pay much attention to the career rise of L. Beria<sup>5</sup>. He penetrated into their everyday life only through collective readings and discussions of his speech at the funeral of Stalin as it was in Poltava SPI in 1953<sup>6</sup>.

### THE “ZERO IMAGE” OF BERIA

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<sup>1</sup> Breheda, Mykola. “Reaktsiya ukrayins’koho naseleння na zvyuvachennya L. Beriі v zlochyynniy antypartiyniy i antyderzhavniy diyal’nosti” in *Naukovi pratsi: Naukovo-metodychnyy zhurnal*, Tom. 74, Vypusk 61 (Mykolayiv, 2007), 57.

<sup>2</sup> “Postanova spil’noho zasidannya Tsentral’noho komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu, Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR ta Prezydiy Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR vid 7 bereznaya 1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 1.

<sup>3</sup> “Velyka skorбота Ukrayins’koho narodu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 3.

<sup>4</sup> “Zaklyuchnyy kontsert maystriv mystetstv Pol’s’koyi Narodnoyi Respubliky u Velykomu teatri Soyuzu RSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 12, 1953, no.10, 1.

<sup>5</sup> “Nezabutnye im’ya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 8, 1953, no.49, 2.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op.1, spr.395, ark.2.



– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

Ever since the end of World War II, the citizens could turn the radio on all over the Union and hear the a great praising song to Marshal Beria once written by Aleksandr Belenson:

<i>“Суровой чести верный рыцарь – народом Берия любим. Отчизна славная гордится бесстрашным маршалом своим. Вождя заветам предан свято, Он счастье Родины хранит. В руке героя и солдата Надёжен меч, надёжен щит...”</i>	<i>“The loyal knight of strict honor, Beria is loved by the people. The glorious fatherland is proud of its fearless marshal. Being faithfully devoted to the leader’s wills, He keeps the happiness of the Motherland. In the hand of a hero and a soldier, There is a trusted sword, a secure shield<sup>1</sup>.”</i>
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Because of such “ideological implosions” in the mass culture and in the press, in the early 1953, the status of Beria in the minds of teachers was extremely high. L. P. Beria was among the “best representatives” of the Soviet people as it was proclaimed in the mottoes of the Parliamentary elections in February of 1953 and even foreign sources named him the number two man in the Soviet government<sup>2</sup>. However, in the beginning of the year, L. Beria was still in the shadow of the messianic era of Stalin. Many documentaries continuously showed him standing next to the “great leader” as it was in the film dedicated to Day of the Airborne Fleet of the USSR<sup>3</sup>. And even in the propaganda poems agitated to vote, mentioning only Stalin’s name placing all others – including Beria – in the faceless Party-group:

<i>“нас дорогами ясними Сталін, партія ведуть...”</i>	<i>“Along the clear roads We are lead by Stalin and the Party...<sup>4</sup>”</i>
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or

<i>“За Сталіна, за весь народ радянський, За найкращих його представників”</i>	<i>“For Stalin, for the whole Soviet folk, For its best representatives”<sup>5</sup></i>
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<sup>1</sup> Lugin A. Pesnya o Beriya URL: [http://www.sovmusic.ru/text.php?from\\_sam=1&fname=s9830](http://www.sovmusic.ru/text.php?from_sam=1&fname=s9830)

<sup>2</sup> “Police Chief Beria Arrested (1953): in our pages: 100, 75 and 50 years ago”, *The New York Times*, July 11, 2003, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Den' povitryanoho flotu SRSR (Director: Boykov V., 1951)

<sup>4</sup> Nahnybida, Mykola. “V dobru put'!” , *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 1, 1953, no.1, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Zlotyabko, Ivan. “Z imenem Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 24, 1953, no.99, 2.

That was extremely visible when after such poems the editors placed an article urging to vote for the specific political figure noting he was a great friend of Stalin or his comrade. Therefore, the content-analyses of the press (*The Zorya Poltavshchyny*) showed that Lavrentiy Beria had only two mentions in the periodicals during the election campaign period. It is 327,5 times less than the reference to Stalin, and even 1.5 times lower than the level of references to the “quiet” Lazar Kaganovich. And the protocols of the party organization of Poltava SPI, the minutes of the sub-departments or even the personal files of the educators do not show their interest in Beria’s personality either together or separately from Stalin.

In their everyday life of the early 1953, the teachers rarely talked about the Minister Beria. His name was mentioned in the text of lectures or during the party meetings only in the list of the members of the Supreme Soviet. But after the death of Stalin in March, they turned to the name of Beria during the studying of his speech at the funeral of their leader. Nevertheless, it is the study of speech that kept Beria afloat in the consciousness of the educators. So, in Cherkasy SPI, he was presented as “a source of Bolshevik passion”, “the new ideologist”, in whose speeches everyone “who’s not blind”, had to see the new truth”<sup>1</sup>. By the way, the educators of Poltava SPI, being also the members of the enlightening Society “Knowledge”, planned to hold more than a dozen paid lectures exclusively on one Beria’s speech<sup>2</sup>. The campaign of honoring the new ideologist Beria with the explanations of his truth should have taken the whole summer<sup>3</sup>. They planned to work with the teachers of schools and workers at plants all over the city<sup>4</sup>. No one expected such a rapid decline of L. Beria already in the year of Stalin’s death. This was a result of the relevant ideological stability of the late Stalinism, of the solidity position of Beria as a “Knights of Honor” in the worldview of people. The Interior Minister could hardly be named an enemy of the folk. However, the situation that happened with such a strong politician as Beria during only couple of months of 1953, once again confirmed the theoretical conclusions of Gustave Le Bon, stating that even the smallest antipathy instigated in the crowd rapidly becomes a common hatred<sup>5</sup>.

During the first period of the life after Stalin, the formation of Beria’s image was either inertial. From March to June of 1953 we see the constancy of the image of

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<sup>1</sup> DACHO, f. P-2187, op.1 spr.15, ark.39.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op.1, spr.25, ark.126.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op.1, spr.26, ark.15.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op.1, spr.30, 105 ark.

<sup>5</sup> Lebon H. *Psikhologiya narodov i mass* (Sankt-Peterburg: MAKET, 1995), URL: <http://lib.ru/POLITOLOG/LEBON/psihologia.txt>

the Minister as a “knight of strict honor”; the development of the new depiction of his work was still conducted under the shadow of Stalin’s memory. If the name of Beria appeared in the press it was necessarily put near the mentioning of him as the successor and friend of the “Standard Bearer of peace” J. Stalin<sup>1</sup>. The great influence on the conservation of that characteristic of Lavrentiy Pavlovich in the minds of teachers was made by his “informational self-isolation”. He and his activities were mostly hidden for the wide masses. Their attention (including the interest of educators) was dispersed by the durable mourning over the late dictator. It was really hard for the educators to pay much attention to a new image of L. Beria, because they were burring “the Sun of mankind<sup>2</sup>”.

But after the time of sorrows, the life came back into its river-bed. The whole country sunk into “Communist liturgy” – the traditional May demonstration. One could see among the columns of demonstrators the portraits of Beria along with other party members<sup>3</sup>. Looking through the regional newspapers, we can find pictures of educators in festive columns as the participants of that celebration in the central streets all over UkrSSR carrying them as well<sup>4</sup>. However, we should agree that the presence of portraits of the politician in the crowd did not help to change the statesman’s status in the consciousness of the ordinary people. Everyone was just too used to see the same faces on the plaques on party holidays. So, it is really difficult to distinguish the strict gaze of Beria from a wide smile of Khrushchev on small tablets lost in the living sea of demonstrators with the background of almost megalithic paintings of the profiles of the leaders of Marxism-Leninism. However, Lavrentiy Beria himself did some steps to decrease the role of political portrait in the formation on leader’s authority. He was the one to prohibit the use of the images of leaving political figures during demonstrations already in May of 1953<sup>5</sup>.

### **SELF-ISOLATED MINISTER**

The state easily turned an image of L. Beria from the zealot of the Soviet system to its enemy with the help of the artificial “information hunger” among educators. It was made through a deliberate restriction of information flow through

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<sup>1</sup> “Velyka skorбота Ukrayins'koho narodu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 3.

<sup>2</sup> “Nezabutnye im'ya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 8, 1953, no.49, 2.

<sup>3</sup> “Pershotravnevyy parad i demonstratsiya trudyashchykh v stolytsi Radyans'koyi Ukrayiny – Kyievi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 4, 1953, no.88, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “Svyatkuvannya Pershoho Travnnya na Poltavshchyni”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 8, 1953, no.88, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Petrovs'kyi V., Radchenko L., Semenko V. *Istoriya Ukrayiny: neuperedzhenyi pohlyad: faky. Mify. Komentari.* (Kharkiv, SHKOLA, 2007), 498

radio and press. The increase in psycho-emotional exhaustion among the educators achieved several important goals: it let rapidly “saturate” their worldview with the “necessary” vision of L. Beria and made it possible to quickly change vectors of the inner policy.

We have already mentioned that the image of L. Beria inside the groups of teachers of pedagogical universities was created under the veil of “information self-isolation” of the minister. Educators (after all, like most of the Soviet society) did not have a complete picture of his initiatives in “recovery” of the country from the “Stalinist fever”. Of course, the periodicals printed the Order “On Amnesty” in March of 1953. That document was a revolution in the criminal justice after Stalin. It released from the places of imprisonment and from other penalties not related to deprivation of liberty people sentenced for up to 5 years of jail. It was done regardless of their term of punishment if they were convicted for official and economic, some military crimes. The list was broadened with women with children under the age of 10 years and pregnant ones; with minors under the age of 18; men over 55 and women over 50, or the one down with a severe incurable illness. The order said to stop all investigative cases not yet considered by the courts. But this imitative of Beria had little to do with his name in the mass consciousness. The educators read the manes of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR K. Voroshilov and the Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR N. Pegov under the document in press but not the initials of Beria<sup>1</sup>.

Surely, the teachers knew about the information of the Ministry of Inner Affairs about the falsity of criminal cases against the “gangs” of 37 Kremlin doctors that was “born” in the sick mind of Stalin not long before his death. The document was printed in April of 1953 and stated that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR conducted a thorough check of all the materials of the preliminary investigation and other data on the case of a group of doctors accused of wrecking, espionage and terrorist actions against active figures of the Soviet state. The Ukrainian found out that the State ordered to complete the “full rehabilitation and release from custody the doctors and members of their families arrested in the so-called “case of pest physicians” and on bringing to criminal responsibility the workers of the former Soviet MGB, who were particularly sophisticated in fabricating of that provocative affair and in the grossest distortions of Soviet laws”<sup>2</sup>. However, a note from L.P. Beria on rehabilitation and to the Presidium of the CPSU lying in the basement of

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<sup>1</sup> “Ukaz Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR “Pro amnistiyu» vid 27 bereznia 1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 27, 1953, no.63, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Povidomlennya Ministerstva Vnutrishnikh Sprav”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 5, 1953, no.69, 1.

that process was hardly known to the small group of party members in the party organizations of the SPIs but not all the educators. That document was classified. As well as the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU banning re-arrest and prosecution of state criminals being in practice since 1948<sup>1</sup>. However, these 3 publications indirectly mentioning the activities of L. Beria in the process of de-Stalinization of the country were only like three drops in the ocean of every day information washing the brains of educators. That positive information about Lavrentiy Beria appeared only in 5% of 63 regional newspapers published in Poltava for 3 months between Stalin's death and Beria's downfall. And, frankly speaking, they showed to the broad public not the good will of a new Minister but only repeatedly confirmed the reality: the Soviet population was divided into three categories: prisoners, ex-prisoners and future prisoners<sup>2</sup>.

Quite a few references survived in the archival sources showing the awareness of educators in Beria's initiatives. None of them mentioned his role in restoring order in the power structures<sup>3</sup>, as well as in social life<sup>4</sup>. The fact of silence was recorded after the analyses of the party documents of Hlukhiv, Kharkiv Poltava, Uman and other SPIs. The ignorance by the teachers of the fact that Beria laid the foundations for de-Stalinization of public life does not look so strange, even if even some Police officers in Poltava (the direct subordinates of Beria) did not know either about the amnesty or the closure of high-profile political cases<sup>5</sup>. Surely, the educators of SPIs knew about the amnesty of prisoners. But, in the majority of them, they associated it with the fact that most of the crimes in the cities happened by the released by Beria<sup>6</sup>, rather than with the fact that it laid the foundation for de-Stalinization.

To confirm the idea that some provincial college teams just did not receive enough information of the activity of the Interior Minister, we can provide the data of the content analysis of the newspaper the "Zorya Poltavshchyny". In the order to see the consequences of Beria's informational self-isolation, we will compare the information on him with the articles mentioning the most active politician of the "thaw" – N. Khrushchev – and "the quietest one" – L. Kaganovich.

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<sup>1</sup> Baran V. K. *Ukrayina: novitnya istoriya (1945–1991)* (Lviv: Instytut ukrayinoznavstva imeni I. Kryp'yakevycha NAN Ukrayiny, 2003), 93-94.

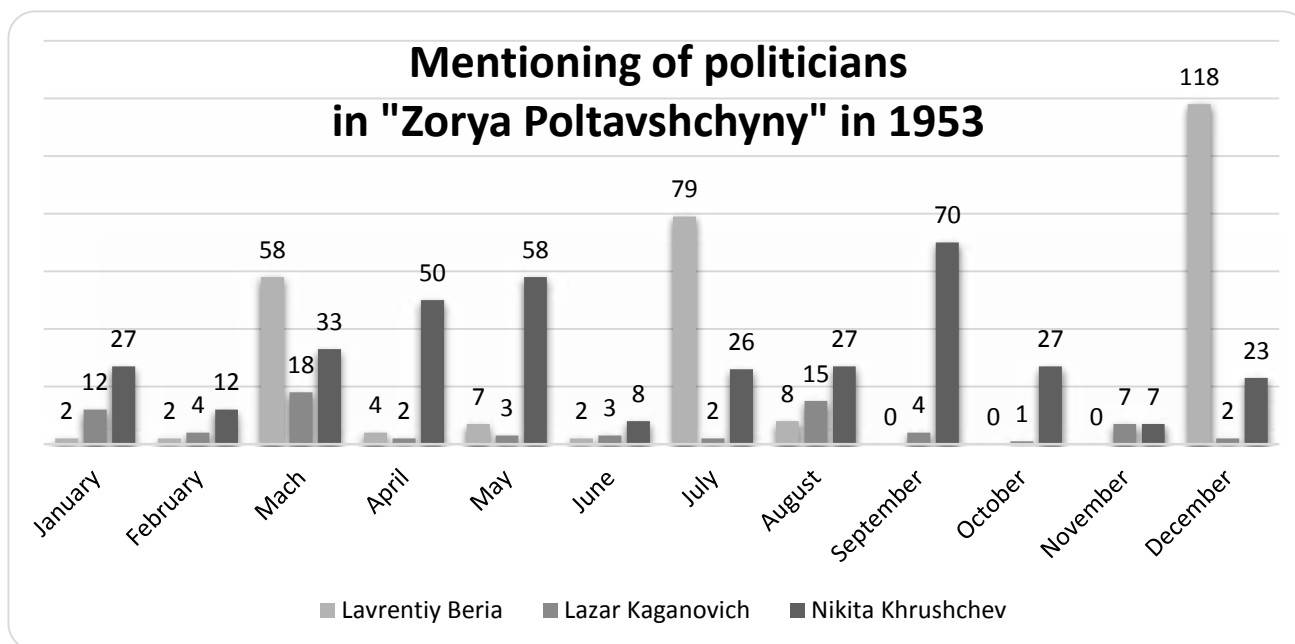
<sup>2</sup> Lipson, Leon. "Social Legacy: The Road Uphill" in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 453.

<sup>3</sup> Baran V. K. *Ukrayina: novitnya istoriya...* 93

<sup>4</sup> Lavrentiy Beriia. 1953. *Stenogramma iyul'skogo plenuma TsK KPSS i drugie dokumenty* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyi Fond "Demokratiya", 1999), 46-48.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. P-244, op 1, spr. 4314, ark.31.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 665, ark. 22; 42.



**Bar chart 4.1**

During the life of Stalin, Beria was quite a mysterious figure for educators and all other citizens. So, in January he was mentioned 8 times less than Khrushchev and 3 times less than Kaganovich. But even then one of the articles belonged to his person as a member of Stalin's suite at the concert of the Polish masters of art<sup>1</sup>; the other mention was just a title of a collective farm bearing the name of the politician.

The peak of mentioning of Lavrentiy Pavlovich in March (when he was remembered 2 times more than Khrushchev and 4 times more than Kaganovich) actually wasn't his success. All those references appeared only in the articles dedicated to the late dictator Stalin's<sup>2</sup>. And Beria had to play the role of the sorrowful orphaned follower for his name was mentioned only after the name of the "great leader". Other mentions concerned the appointment of Georgiy Malenkov the new Chairman of the Government as "a true associate of Stalin"<sup>3</sup>. Beria appeared in that row as "one of other associates". In June, people did not see any "documented signs" of the active political life of the Minister of the Interior. His name was mentioned in the press only 2 times, but only in retrospect, recalling his previous achievements

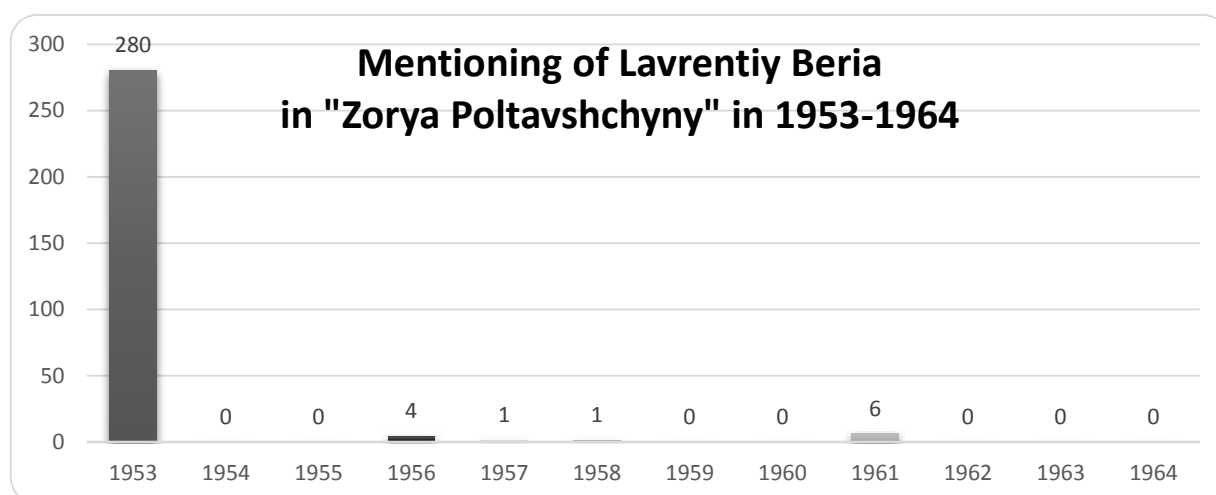
<sup>1</sup> "Zaklyuchnyy kontsert maystriv mystetstv Pol's'koyi Narodnoyi Respubliki u Velykomu teatri Soyuzu RSR", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 12, 1953, no.10, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Vydannya ukrayins'koyu movoyu promov H.M. Malenkova, L.P. Beriia, V.M. Molotova na traurnomu mitynhu v den' pokhoron Y. V. Stalina", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 20, 1953, no.59, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Promova tovarysha Lavrentiya Pavlovycha Beriia", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 10, 1953. No.51, 1.

during the XIX Congress of the CPSU, but no word was said about his current status<sup>1</sup>.

The information hunger for the data on L. Beria appeared immediately after the start of the case in summer of 1953. In the period from September to November of 1953, the press as a source of daily information for teachers never mentioned the prisoner until a new explosion of short-term information avalanche before the official sentence. Then authorities again blocked all possible ways of informing on Beria. For the next years the period of information hunger was the lengthy and sometimes reached 4 years (!). For 12 years, the main press of Poltava region mentioned Beria 292 times, including only 12 times after the execution of the minister.



**Bar chart 4.2**

But one should not criticize the press for the forming the negative image of Beria. Even “Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Encyclopedia” proposed to cut away the article about L.P. Beria once published in its volume? Not surprisingly, Professor Alexander Dallin called that whole process as transformation of L. Beria into a “non-person”<sup>2</sup>.

Not much time passed after the start of anti-Beria campaign when the intelligentsia joined the fight. They already had a proper name to a new enemy calling him an “oppressor of science”<sup>3</sup>. The centers of planting of the new image of

<sup>1</sup> “Beriya L. Rech' na XIX s'ezde KPSS. Gospolitizdat, 1953 – Knyzhkova polytsya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 15, 1953, no.115, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Dallin, Alexander. *Recent Soviet Historiography in Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 478.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P-244, op 1, spr. 4489, ark.5zv.

Beria into the consciousness of the educators were the sub-departments of Marxism-Leninism in the Pedagogical institutes. When the wave of the open aggression faded, they continued criticizing not Lavrentiy Pavlovich directly but the anti-socialist unjustified love to the authority of some historical personalities<sup>1</sup>. For example, the head of the ideological sub-department of Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov at one of the meetings tried to persuade his colleagues that in the new days they shouldn't have emphasized the meaning of a separate person<sup>2</sup>. However, he did it not in the days of Beria's conviction. Maybe the scare for being arrested for that kind of thoughts was too great. The educators waited for the sanctions of the center even for such neutral comments. And they received them in August when the regional press published the article of the Party Secretary Petr Pospelov on the 50-th anniversary of the CPSU. The party leader urged to remove non-Marxist coverage of the role of the person from the practice of propaganda work<sup>3</sup>. Once again the name of Beria was not named but each politically literate citizen knew whom they were speaking about. Totally identical ideas appeared in the speeches of the educators of Poltava SPI. They used all the power of public lectures to accuse "some people" of the reducing of the role of the people in history and incriminated the amorphous unnamed villains the implanting of their own cults of personality. That campaign of the educators as the members of the Society "Knowledge" lasted until the end of the investigation over Beria<sup>4</sup>.

Everyday conversations also reflected the reaction of teachers on the charges of the image of L. Beria. This data is preserved in the secret memos of MGB to the regional committees of CPSU. So, the mathematician from Poltava SPI Yuriy Kopkin with his friends shared reflections on that "Beria claimed the post of the leader" and for "his rotten goals" used rather sordid methods: "organized purges in the Caucasus, turned adrift Ignatyev and Ryumin" and "had mistakes in the national policy"<sup>5</sup>. This shows that people talked much more than protocols of party meetings noted. The educators were aware and easily exchanged the thoughts about political changes in the kitchens but not in the halls of party meetings. As Poltavite Kopkin, they surely discussed Beria's role in the destiny of the former Minister of MGB Semyon Ignatyev. He as Minister of State Security of the USSR from 1951 to 1953 was in charge of loud repressions known as "Case of Doctors" and "Mingrel Case".

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<sup>1</sup> DASO, f. R-5369, op 1, spr. 164, ark.5.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op 1, spr. 392, ark.211.

<sup>3</sup> Pospyelov, P. "P'yatdesyat rokov Komunistychniy Partiyi Radyans'koho Soyuzu", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 2, 1953, no.152, 1.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. R- 6829, op 1, spr. 27, ark. 37.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1298, ark.31-32.



After Beria seized the power in 1953 over that Ministry he did much to downgrade Ignatyev firstly to the position of the secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. And right after the release of the repressed doctors in April of 1953, it was Beria's pressure that moved members of the CC of the CPSU, accounting "serious mistakes made by Comrade Ignatyev S. D. in the leadership of the former USSR Ministry of State Security", to withdraw the politician from the Central Committee of the CPSU. And it was Beria's suggestion supported by other members of the Presidium of the Central Committee, to consider the question of Ignatyev's party membership. However, we see that educators as Yu. Kopkin forgot that Beria actually deprived another political tyrant from power. They were too addicted to the thought of the central authorities. And they changed their view on Ignatyev right after Beria's arrest in June. Already in July of 1953, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU abolished its own decision of April 28, and S. Ignatyev was reinstated as a member of the Central Committee. That was another nail in the coffin of Beria. We see that people from the crowd – even being educated – didn't value his willingness to start some changes in the country that would become known as de-Stalinization in couple of years.

Another case Poltava educator accused Beria of was the firing of the deputy of the Minister of MGB Mikhail Ryumin. Known as "the bloody dwarf" for his methods of tortures, he was accused in the same time as his patron Ignatyev<sup>1</sup>. But if Ignatyev was rehabilitated after "Beria's repressions", Ryumin was still in prison in the days of the case of Lavrentiy Pavlovich as well as in the time of the official announcement of Beria's execution. He himself was shot in July of 1954 never being rehabilitated. That point leaves much to think about the level of the perception of the political reality by the educators. Did it look as they were willing to judge everyone who was not on the top of the world? Probably yes. The case of Ryumin and Ignatyev shows that when Beria was proclaimed the enemy of the state all others, "offended" by him, automatically received "political indulgence" in the minds of ordinary people.

The situation with criticizing Beria for "all deathly sins" was similar in other cities across the UkrSSR. We find the same phrases in the speeches of educators from Kyiv<sup>2</sup> and Cherkasy<sup>3</sup>. The lecturer of Uman SPI Borys Tovbis accused Beria in the tightening of the knot around the Soviet Union by the capitalist enemies. He told that Lavrentiy Pavlovich was the one who provoked the uprising in East Germany in

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<sup>1</sup> Chikin, Valentin. "Horyzonty v labyrynte", *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, June 1, 2010. URL: <http://sovross.ru/articles/472/7752>

<sup>2</sup> DAKO, f. P-485, op.3, spr.2, ark.100.

<sup>3</sup> DACHO, f. P-2187, op.1, spr.16, ark.38.

June of 1953. That event actually was a strike of workers in East Berlin that overgrew into the political campaign against the government of the German Democratic Republic throughout the country and was named “the Fascist outing” by the Soviet politicians. In that light Beria’s trace in East-German case was associated by the educators with the Fascist ghost in Europe<sup>1</sup>.

Some teachers were really shocked and believed in the traitor-version proposed by the state as a reason of removing Beria from power. However they couldn’t fully put the jigsaw-puzzle together. And those who tried usually had too many questions to the elite that tried to give short shrift to their comrade Minister of MGB. For example, Chernivtsi teacher Finherov exclaimed when heard about Beria’s conviction: “This is the largest heedlessness in the world, and perhaps self-interest for they feared for their own well-being, and therefore lied. Some perverts took charge of the fate of Soviet citizens...<sup>2</sup>”.

### **BERIA’S “ANATHEMA”**

But the critics of L. Beria in July of 1953 after a long time of worship came as avalanche and left to chance to the ideological maneuver for the college teams. The campaign of elimination of his image as “the faithful Stalinists” lasted until the end of the month. Party documents of the pedagogical universities are either completely silent about the reaction of teachers (as it was in Poltava) or have dry statements of the fact of the event (as in the party documents of SPIs of Kyiv<sup>3</sup>, Kharkiv<sup>4</sup> or Uman<sup>5</sup>). However, knowing the routine practice of contemporary ideologues and facts of similar campaigns in other educational institutions (such as schools, colleges and regional departments of education), we can state that in the period from 11 to 31 July the staff of SPIs had gone through the procedure of “clarification”<sup>6</sup>. This is evident from the fact that at the regional assembly on July 7, 1953, the Director of the Agricultural Institute of Poltava Vantsak on behalf of all educators of the Higher Schools of Poltava condemned “subtropical snake Beria”<sup>7</sup>. Thus, the correspondence department PDPI even held a rally to 2 thousand. We are also surely aware that they even held 2,000 people meeting at the correspondence department of the Poltava

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<sup>1</sup> DACHO, f. P-2187, op.1, spr.15, ark.59.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.3062, ark.223.

<sup>3</sup> DAKO, f. P-485, op.3, spr.2, 224 ark.

<sup>4</sup> DAKhO, f. R-4293, op.2, spr.497, 96 ark.

<sup>5</sup> DACHO, f. P-2087, op.1, spr.15, 293 ark.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.5244, ark.26.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, on. 2, spr.1291, ark.2.

Pedagogical Institute with the unanimous approval of the party's decision on the newly revealed traitor<sup>1</sup>.

Not less interesting was the beginning of the meetings in Cherkasy SPI, being, as we believe, common to all pedagogical universities of the country. Having been familiarized with the letter of the CPSU, the teachers did not say anything. In ambiguous silence party organization secretary O. Brozdnichenko stressed that all workers had already unanimously supported the decision. That meant that there was no other choice as to do the same. On the other hand, the absence of documentary evidence of discussion by the educators of the case of L. Beria in certain Soviet universities can be explained by the fact that teachers did not know what to say when they had already finished quoting the list of “standard”, “permitted” by the state phrases of support. Thus, Cherkasy SPI party organization secretary ended the meeting with the despair: “I am surprised that debate has stopped of the fact that there is no one willing to speak”<sup>2</sup>.

After the political changes, the daily routine of SPIs was replenished with the “emergency measures”. Thus, the directors of libraries of higher educational institutions received an order in July of 1953 “to clean” the book shelves, freeing them from the works of the “anathematized” authors<sup>3</sup>. Ivan Kozin, the Head of the Library of Poltava SPI, throughout the whole summer and autumn of 1953 systematically reported of “systematically working to clean up book collections of politically harmful and outdated literature”<sup>4</sup>. The specially requested censor from the Oblit (Regional department of the protection of the State secrets in the press) “helped” to shorten the institute's library onto 2 thousand 394 units of “harmful literature” for a one year<sup>5</sup>. The pace of that “book purge” was extremely high. For example, in Hlukhiv SPI, they seized 210 copies of books (including 196 (93.3%) by the former Interior Minister) in 10 days<sup>6</sup>. The list included not only hardcover or soft-cover books but also news-paper articles with the name of Beria under them<sup>7</sup>. The goal was to eliminate Beria even from the time when he was “the biggest friend” of Stalin and the Party. One could find that in couple of days a lot of newspapers were cut. Thus disappeared not only the columns with Beria's speech at the XIX Congress of the CPSU (b) in 1952, but also the mention of its publication was

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op.1, spr.406, ark.20.

<sup>2</sup> DACHO, f. P-2187, op.1, spr.15, ark.75.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1340, ark.53.

<sup>4</sup> APNPU, f.2, op. K-2, spr. Kozyn Ivan Andriyovych, ark.10.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op.1, spr.395, ark.51.

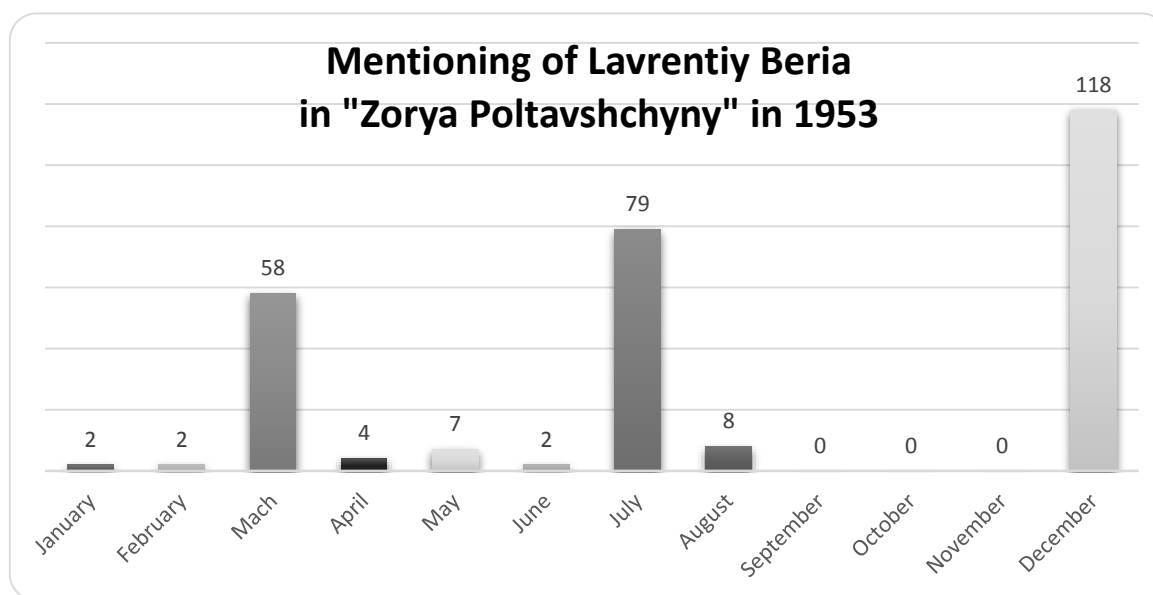
<sup>6</sup> DASO, f. R-2817, op.3, spr.175, 37 ark.

<sup>7</sup> DASO, f. R-5369, op.1, spr.196, 2 ark.

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crossed with the blue ink<sup>1</sup>. The same destiny awaited his publications on the history of the Bolshevik organizations in the Caucasus region, his speech on the election assembly in Tbilisi and even recent widely studied and freshly discussed address at the mourning rally on the day of the death of J.V. Stalin<sup>2</sup>.

In the case of the molding of educators' perception of L. Beria, the daily information pressure was really important. As mentioned Serhiy Bilokon, the status of the Minister demanded his elimination through the bloated publicity<sup>3</sup>. And, as the documents of the regional committees of radio and press show, they did much to plant a seed of doubt in people's souls in the question of Beria's loyalty<sup>4</sup>. We can have a look at the dynamics of references to the name of the disgraced statesman in the pages of the "Zorya Poltavshchyny" in 1953. In general, two waves of "anti-Beria" information avalanche are visible to the naked eye taking place in July and December of 1953. The peak on March was not Beria's but Stalin's. The minister was mentioned in the press so frequently just because of being too near to the coffin of the late dictator.



**Bar chart 4.3**

<sup>1</sup> "Beriya L. Rech' na XIX s"ezde KPSS. Gospolitizdat, 1953 - Knyzhkova polytsya", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 15, 1953, no.115, 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Vydannya ukrayins'koyu movoyu promov H.M. Malenkova, L.P. Beriia, V.M. Molotova na traurnomu mitynhu v den' pokhoron Y. V. Stalina", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 20, 1953no.59, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Bilokin' Serhiy. "XX z'yizd KPRS na pivstorichniy vidstani" in *Ukrayina. XX stolittya: kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka. Zb. Statey*, Vypusk. 10 (Kyiv: Nika-Tsentr, 2006), 102.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.5942. ark.12

The attack on the Minister of Internal Affairs in the regional newspaper was started with the publications on 10, July. They not only revealed the changes in the state power<sup>1</sup> but clearly defined the outline for a new worldview: Beria was an enemy of the Communist Party and the people<sup>2</sup>. Among 79 articles, 8 were devoted solely to the debunking of the personality cult and criminal activity of the “imperialist traitor”. However, two articles concerning combating amorphous cult of personality were published right before the date of the official post-Stalin purge. Probably that was a try to mold a public opinion before the denunciation of “vile and the sneakiest, thrice cursed Beria...”<sup>3</sup> The regional press showed support for the actions of Soviet power not only in the Poltava region. They published the letters and statements of the workers and party figures from the capital city of Moscow to the provincial village of Dykanka, from the Revolutionary capital Leningrad to the far Magnitogorsk. They massively cited foreign newspapers: Chinese “Zheminhbao”, Polish “Trybuna Ludu”, Romanian “Scînteia”, American “Dailyworker” and others<sup>4</sup>. From among these publications, a new shape of L. Beria emerged. It was a portrait of the one who “lost his party conscience and a face of a Soviet man<sup>5</sup>”. He was considered to have sought “to deep the Soviet people into the imperialist bondage”<sup>6</sup>. Among the published material concerning Lavrentiy Pavlovich in July of 1953, 47% had openly radical accents: the calls not to give mercy to the “enemy-traitors, enemy of the people”<sup>7</sup>. And while the name of L. Beria appeared in the newspapers 79 times (!) per one month that was a case in which the plurality of references did not work for enhancement of political success.

The politician was publicly defamed at the Plenum of the CPSU in the last days of July, as reported to the masses in the August print. The role of an accuser was given to the secretary of Presidium Nikolay Pegov<sup>8</sup>. After his report, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet deprived Beria of the powers of MP, officially withdrew from the post of the First Deputy of the Head of the CM of the USSR and the Minister of

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<sup>1</sup> “U Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 10, 1953, no.135, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Informatsiyne povidomlennya pro Plenum Tsentral'noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans'koho Soyuzu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 10, 1953, no.135, 1.

<sup>3</sup> “Ob'yednanyy plenum Kyyivs'koho obkomu i mis'kkomu Kompartiyi Ukrayiny razom z partiynym aktyvom Kyyeva i Kyyivs'koyi oblasti ”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 12, 1953, no.137, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “Zakordonni vidhuky pro rishennya Plenumu TsK KPRS i postanovy Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR ”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 15, 1953, no.139, 4.

<sup>5</sup> “Hniv i oburennya trudyashchykh Poltavy!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 14, 1953, no.138, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “My zavzhdy z ridnoyu Komunistychnoyu partiyeyu!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 14, 1953, no.138, 2.

<sup>7</sup> “Demonstratsiya palkoyi lyubovi i bezmezhnoyi viddanosti Komunistychniy partiyi i Radyans'komu uryadu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 17, 1953, no.140, 2.

<sup>8</sup> “Pro zatverdzhennya Ukaziv Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR. Dopovid' sekretarya Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR deputata M. M. Pyehova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 11, 1953, no.159, 3.

the Interior, along with depriving of all ranks and awards<sup>1</sup>. Despite the pressure of everyday information, teachers and students of pedagogical SPIs did not show activity in the defamation campaign of Beria. The full-time students were on summer vacation, correspondence department ones had already graduated as well, and the members of party organizations at the time of the July and August meetings did not touch these issues. Only 8 negative references in the press worked on the formation of the political silhouette of Beria in August. It was 10 times less than in the “black” July.

When autumn came, the authorities used the methods of distraction of citizens’ attention on all sorts of issues. It looked as if they tried to make everyone forget about the loud case that had thundered just some time before. From September to November of 1953, the pedagogical staffs of SPIs of the UkrSSR paid daily attention to the problems of agriculture, to the rise of political star of N. Khrushchev but never mentioned Beria<sup>2</sup>. His name even didn’t appear in the press. The one could only catch a ghostly hint on the question of politician’s arrest only in the words of lectures about the amorphous inadmissibility of the cult of personality in the USSR. For example, the philosopher from Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov propagandized “the eternal socialist values”, criticized someone who created his own cult in the heart of the Communist Party being revealed not long before that but still gave no name: the evil had to stay unanimous<sup>3</sup>.

It was a period of increasing “the informational hunger” of citizens in Beria’s question, lasting until mid-December. The end of December marked a new informational avalanche starting with the announcement of the investigation by the Office of the General Prosecutor in the case of L. Beria<sup>4</sup>. In 94% of publications that influenced the minds of educators, the hostility and anger were fueled. The papers called for the physical elimination of the criminal: “Curse to the murderers and spies”<sup>5</sup> – they said. He wasn’t even connected with a human any more: “Dog’s death to the dog!”<sup>6</sup> – they proclaimed. The name of L. Beria with a negative epithets and references appears 118 times in the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” during the first winter month. The party workers stated: the primary party organizations of educators

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<sup>1</sup> “Pro zatverdzhennya Ukaziv Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR pro zlochynni antyderzhavni diyi L. P. Beriia vid 8.08.1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 11, 1953, no.159, 3.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op.1, spr.440, ark.12

<sup>3</sup> Stepanov, Dmytro. “Patriotychnyy obov’yazok radyans’koyi intelihentsiyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 10, 1953, no.202, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “U Prokuraturi SRSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 18, 1953. No.249, 2.

<sup>5</sup> “Proklyattya vbyvtsyam i shpyhunam!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 23, 1953, no.253, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “Sobakam – sobacha smert’!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 27, 1953, no.256, 2.

required only the extreme penalty of the law to the “traitors”<sup>1</sup>. Not surprisingly, that even abroad reviews of the massacre of Beria, clarified it as the elimination of the threat to the collective leadership of the country<sup>2</sup>.

Even poets added fuel to the fire under the party control. So, Nikolay Tikhonov speaking about Beria’s case and about his closest associates from the organs of state security, immediately after arrest and later named in the media as “the gang of Beria”: “Let their names disappear in disgrace!”<sup>3</sup> That, actually, was completed by the Supreme Court condemning them to the “extreme penalty of the law – shooting with confiscation of their personal property, deprivation of all ranks and awards”<sup>4</sup>. The correctness of the death penalty was interpreted by the ideologists in the simple way: “The sentence of the court is a verdict of the people”<sup>5</sup>. To be sure in the support of the massacre of the “freaks of society” (as Beria and Co were named), the local authorities held special meetings on the materials of the verdict<sup>6</sup>. The representatives of pedagogical colleges were among those voting to support it one more time<sup>7</sup>. We can find the official worldview designed in the shape of public thought in the press. The students and teachers of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute just copied the censored phrases in their speeches<sup>8</sup>, rejoicing at the fact that “subterraneous traitors were swept away from the face of the Earth”<sup>9</sup>.

### “AFTER BERIA”

The return to the Beria’s question in everyday practice of the educators happened already in the beginning of a new year. They were forced to make the correction of documents in January of 1954. We have already mentioned how the departments a year before that date reported on the precise study of Beria’s speech at the funeral of Stalin. However, a later revision made them hide those facts. For example, the unknown censor of the protocols in Poltava SPI carefully crossed the name of L. Beria with the velvet ink in every paper throughout the academic year where the sub-departments mentioned the need of readings of the Minister’s reports.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1318, 98 ark.4

<sup>2</sup> Fainsod, Merle What happened to «Collective Leadership»? in *Russia under Khrushchev : an anthology of problems of communism* [ed. by A. Brumberg] (New York : Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 101.

<sup>3</sup> “Holos pys’mennykiv stolytsi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 23, 1953, no.253, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “U Verkhovnomu Sudi SRSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 25, 1953, no.254, 2.

<sup>5</sup> “Vyrok sudu – vyrok narodu!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 26, 1953, no.255, 1.

<sup>6</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.3062, ark.223.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1291, ark.63.

<sup>8</sup> “Holos studentiv”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 26, 1953, no.255, 2.

<sup>9</sup> “Pidli zradnyky zmeteni z lytsya Zemli”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 26, 1953, no.255, 2.

There one more unique mark in the manuscripts. One of the inner documents of Poltava SPI mentioned the discussion of Beria's speech by lecturers and students at the special workshops. Someone's hand circled the statement and put a big question mark next to it as if rhetorically asking: "Who needs it anymore?"<sup>1</sup>

We have not found such explicit corrections in the minutes of other universities. But the management of Zaporizhzhya SPI, preparing a report to the Ministry, repeatedly mentioned how the departments, faculties and separate students worked out the text of the speeches delivered on the mourning meeting in 1953 in Moscow. However, the report mentioned only Malenkov and Molotov addresses saying nothing about the speaking of L. Beria, which logically had been also studied before the times of his disgrace<sup>2</sup>.

The authorities reversed to the blaming of Beria even a few years after his death. When in 1956 they organized the first open anti-Stalin debates after the XX<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, Lavrentiy Pavlovich was the one to be blamed once again. But that time his figure was used to lessen the hit on Stalin's authority. So, the intelligentsia of Poltava expressed their thoughts that "Beria did his dirty affairs" behind Stalin's back so the second one even didn't know about all evil things happening during his rule<sup>3</sup>. The teachers also supported that wobbly idea of the central power. Although it was then when some of educators doubted that Beria alone initiated all crimes the country had gone through the last decades<sup>4</sup>. The transfer of people's attention to the case of Beria one more time helped "orphaned political elite" to stay afloat as in 1953, when they just buried their "immortal" leader. The "political combiners" then took away the social psychological tension that arose along with the realization that Stalin was gone; however, the consequences of his activities remained evident. Thus, the new rulers felt that it was the question of time when they had to judge if not the Generalissimos himself, than at least his "bright and pure" image. Not without reason, Abraham Brumberg, analyzing the events in the USSR, noted that Beria was in fact the most successful scapegoat, which slowed down for some time the ideological massacre of "the leader of the peoples"<sup>5</sup>.

The next "correction" of the image of Lavrentiy Beria occurred in the connection with the debunking of Anti-Party group of Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich in 1957. The late Minister of Inner Affairs appeared as the main "evil

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. R.-1507, op.1, spr.395, ark.2, 6zv.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAVO, f.166, op.5, spr.1295, ark.36zv.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.5703, ark.18.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.5268, ark.18.

<sup>5</sup> Brumberg, Abraham. "Iconoclasm in Moscow – a commentary" in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism* (New York : Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 75-76.



character” in the light of the arguments of citizens of the country<sup>1</sup>. It was not strange counting on the fact that Nikita Khrushchev himself called his main political rival of the late 1950’s G. Malenkov “an instrument in the hands of Beria”<sup>2</sup>. The educators only added some colourful epithets to that list describing newly-found enemies. Thus, the teacher of history from Poltava SPI Vasyl Kostenko at the party gathering united all of “the party schismatics” into the “gang of Beria’s sidekicks”<sup>3</sup>. The economics lecturer of Poltava SPI Volodymyr Yevtushenko, demonstrating a successful agricultural program of the party in 1959, did not miss the opportunity to recall the failure of anti-party group still calling them “Beria’s fosterlings”<sup>4</sup>. Actually, that nickname was used to insult personal enemies in the time of de-Stalinization. We find examples when the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos used that expression against his own opposition in the institute<sup>5</sup>.

So, even dead, L. Beria was still dangerous to Khrushchev’s regime. The state penetrated in the consciousness of the people making them searching the root of all troubles in someone else but not the current leader. That one more time was actual in 1958. Then totalitarian machine started the short period of rehabilitation of works of art and the artists’ represses in before 1953. The Soviet State once again understood that it was Beria’s “stupid subjective taste” that led to the persecution of the opera “Bohdan Khmelnytsky” by Kostyantyn Dankevych in 1951<sup>6</sup>. Some of the educators had to mention Beria in their lectures for they were connected with political questions. In that case they tried to show the students the new face of the former “great friend of Stalin”. For example, the head of the party organization of Poltava SPI Mykola Rizun, reading the course of the history of the Great Patriotic War in 1959, told his students that that the great part of the Soviet army’s command was eliminated or repressed as a result of “the criminal activity of Beria and other enemies”<sup>7</sup>.

It is also interesting to see how the educators continued the fight for the ideological purity of their environment. The analyses of the funds of the library of Poltava pedagogical institute showed that there was a strict revision of materials after

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-244, op., spr.4460, ark.18.

<sup>2</sup> Khrushchev, Mykyta. “Za tisnyi zvyazol literatury I mystetstva z ahyttyam narody”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 1, 1957. No.173, 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, ark. 29.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4832, ark.1-3.

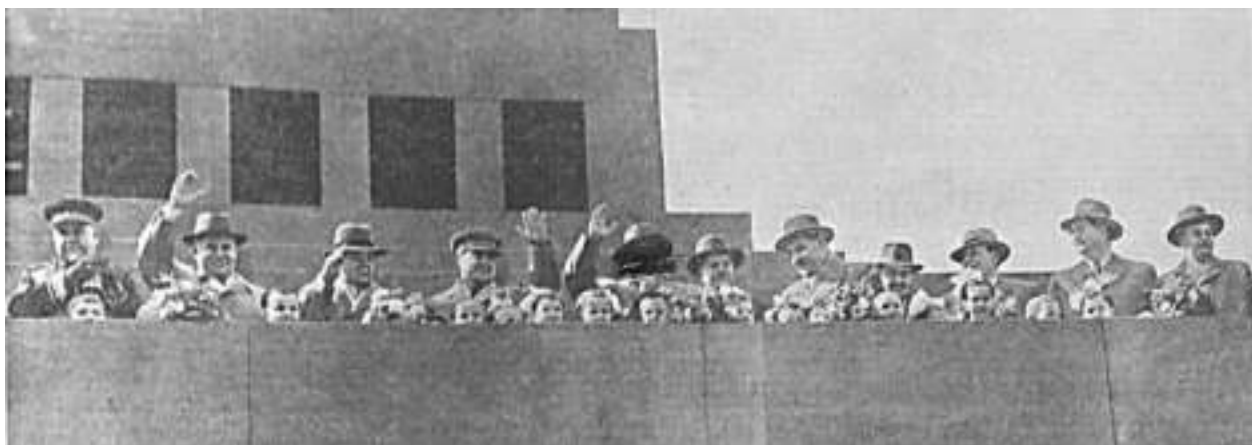
<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. P-19, op 1, spr. 230, ark. 81-82.

<sup>6</sup> “Pro vypravlennya pomylok v otsyntsi oper “Velyka druzhba”, “Bohdan Khmel’nyts’kyi” i “Vid shchyroho sertsya”. Postanova TsK KPRS vid 28 travnya 1958 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 10, 1958. No.113, 1.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op 1, spr. 681, ark.214.

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the events of 1953. Some careful hand meticulously crossed the name of L. Beria and colored his face with ink in the article published in the “Literaturna Hazeta” (the Literary Gazette) in May, 1953 leaving faceless figure on the podium of the Mausoleum in the circle of former party comrades<sup>1</sup>.



So, the everyday perception L. Beria by the educators was formed largely in line with the official position through the press and party instructions. From the top of the status of the “Knights of Honor”, Marshal Beria quickly fell down to the status of the enemy of the Soviet people. The educators did not express doubts to the general public about the correctness of the massacre organized over the Minister, criticizing only the related actions of the Party.

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<sup>1</sup> *Literaturna hazeta*, May 7, 1953, No.20, 1.

## 5

### “Anti-Party Group”

#### INTRODUCTION

The problem of political leadership and the fight for the purity of the Party ranks and unity of the people was ordinary for the Soviet State. Experience of the Stalinist era made it possible not to doubt that the people would support the massacre of possible opponents if they had enough information on their “hostile intentions”. That helped the leaders of the USSR in 1953 in removing L. Beria, but a struggle for power within the Central Committee did not stop<sup>1</sup>. There was an attempt to oust Khrushchev from power in the 1957. But the campaign was not successful, so the country heard learned about “Anti-Party Group of G. Malenkov, L. Kaganovich, V. Molotov and D. Shepilov who joined them”.

Since then the society has formed a stereotype image of politicians. They were rarely considered separately. Even in the study of the population’s attitude to the political change researchers did not share divide the members of Anti-Party group as if there had never been completely individual personalities<sup>2</sup>. After all, it was the result of political technologies used to mold a new vision. That is why P. Wiles said that the events of 1957 were primarily a conflict of ideologies, but not a conflict of people<sup>3</sup>. Here we will find out how the everyday consciousness of educators absorbed new images of the famous figures of the party and the state as those who have caused “treacherous blow to its heart<sup>4</sup>”.

The assumptions about the “flexibility” of reforms of Khrushchev in the struggle for power is not new and is not our discovery. The Englishman A. Nove noted that Khrushchev gradually liquidated political rivals behind the screen of

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<sup>1</sup> Kyrydon, P. V. “Reaktsiya naselennya Poltavshchyny na rishennya chervnevoho (1957 roku) plenumu TSK KPRS pro «antypartiynu hrupu» Malenkova, Kahanovycha, Molotova” in *Istorychna pam"yat'*, no.2 (2010), 60–70.

<sup>2</sup> Breheda, Mykola. *Protses destalinizatsiyi i suspil'ni nastroyi ukrayins'koho naselennya u 1953-1964 rr.: Monohrafiya.* (Mykolayiv, 2010), 92

<sup>3</sup> Wiles P. “The Consumer and the System” in *Russia under Khrushchev...* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 607

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.-P244, op.1, spr.2384, 34

changes<sup>1</sup>. As part of the process of changing the attitudes to the figures of the Anti-party group, there was a distraction of the ordinary people from the political fight with the help, for instance, of the Central Committee labor calls and of the fly into space of the first space pioneers, dogs Albina and Kozyavka<sup>2</sup>. Equally important was the unexpectedness of the political changes. The shock allowed quickly change the attitude towards the opposition to Khrushchev. No wonder that residents of Poltava in 1957 remarked: “We have become estranged to all sorts of gangs...”<sup>3</sup>.

### MALENKOV: LENIN’S TALENTED STUDENT AND STALIN’S LOYAL COLLEAGUE

We will start with the representation of Georgiy Maksimilianovich Malenkov, who is considered one of the founders of de-Stalinisation, right before his “political anathema”. In early 1953, the press logically placed him in the orbit of Stalin’s figure. Therefore, most of the 43 references in the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” to the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers in January 1953 conected with the mention of Joseph Vissarionovich himself or the election campaign for George Malenkov as “a loyal colleague of the leader<sup>4</sup>”. Moreover, in the vision of many Ukrainians, “Malenkov was an adopted son of Stalin<sup>5</sup>”. Probably those ideas made thr world sure that he was observers as the strongest candidate to succeed Stalin<sup>6</sup>.

After Stalines death, political cuisine prepared a new powerful vinaigrette, in which, according to Beria, among “difficult decisions” was the appointment of “a talented student of Lenin and a true associate of Stalin<sup>7</sup>” G. Malenkov as the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the country<sup>8</sup>. So, in a mourning speech, the official positioned himself as a successor to the liquidator of “age-old national discord” rather than as a possible independent, full-fledged statesman<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Nove, A. “Soviet Industrial Reorganization” in *Russia under Khrushchev...* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 189

<sup>2</sup> “Pershi mandrivnyky v kosmos”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 24, 1957, no.39, 4.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.-P13, op.1, spr.643, 13.

<sup>4</sup> “Odnostaynist' khliborobiv”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 20, 1953. No.14, 1.

<sup>5</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op. 24. spr. 2773, ark. 9.

<sup>6</sup> “Stalin’s Successor? (1952): inourpages: 100, 75 and 50 years ago”, *The NewYork Times*, August 21, 2002, 1.

<sup>7</sup> “Promova tovarysha Lavrentiya Pavlovycha Beriia”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 10, 1953, no.51, 1.

<sup>8</sup> “Postanova spil’noho zasidannya Plenumu TsK KPRS vid 7 bereznia 1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 1.

<sup>9</sup> “Promova tovarysha Heorhiya Maksymilianovycha Malenkova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 10, 1953, no.51, 1.

Malenkov appears to be a rather strong politician in the eyes of educators from the pages of the press. The newspapers repleted with official letters and telegrams of foreign ministries of foreign affairs, royal courts and ambassadors with sympathy for the Soviet people. Most of them – starting with the message of the Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru to the letter of the Suomi president Urho Kekkonen – started with the appealing to “His Excellency the Chairman of the Council of Ministers”<sup>1</sup>.

Let’s put some emphases here. The first emphasis: after Stalin’s death, the press created the image of Malenkov as a leading figure in the country’s political Olympus, which gave him a huge credit of people’s trust (in our case, the staff of the pedagogical institute). The second accent: the formation of an image of politics still took place in the shadow of Stalin’s figure. It was difficult to prevent it: the living Malenkov was much inferior to the authority of the dead Dzhugashvili. The press wrote about how “people ... were catching each word” of the first speech of George Maximilianovich at his office, “to save ... in their memory for life”<sup>2</sup>. But even the reprint of this speech in the Poltava regional press was made under the headlines “Stalin is life”, and its further study at the pedagogical institute was connected with the study of the last “classical” work by Stalin “On economic problems of the USSR”<sup>3</sup>. The quotations from Malenkov’s speech were used by the teachers and the students to write the scoring works both on the issues of the Second World War<sup>4</sup> (!) and on Stalin’s views on the economy of the USSR<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, we can state that the printing of 500,000 copies of this mournful speech<sup>6</sup> influenced the authority of Malenkov in two ways: on the one hand, it put the official in the same line with the deceased “corephaeus of science”; on the other hand, it was rather an echo of Stalin’s rule than an independent publication of the new ruler of the state.

In March, the eight-thousandth duplication of Malenkov’s speech at the XIX Congress of the Party acquired the same effect<sup>7</sup>. George Malenkov undoubtedly

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<sup>1</sup> *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 07, 1953, no.48, 3.

<sup>2</sup> “Stalin – tse zhyttya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 11, 1953, no.52, 1.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P.-251, op. 1, spr. 4825, ark.22.

<sup>4</sup> APNPU, f. 1(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (S-Sh), spr.2214. Shvachko Roza Antonivna (1951-1956), ark.22.

<sup>5</sup> APNPU, f. 1(z/v), op. 1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), apr.2158. Hrachova Natalka Andriyivna (1951-1956), ark.22.

<sup>6</sup> “Vydannya ukrayins’koyu movoyu promov H.M. Malenkova, L.P. Beriya, V.M. Molotova na traurnomu mitynhu v den’ pokhoron Y. V. Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 20, 1953, no.59, 1.

<sup>7</sup> “Nove vydannya ukrayins’koyu movoyu dopovidi H. M. Malenkova na XIX z’yizdi partiyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 25, 1953, no.62, 1.

occupied the pedestal of a new leader of the nation in the minds of educators of pedagogical institutes since that time<sup>1</sup>. It became noticeable from the active dissemination of the new “Malenkov’s cult” among young people. During the spring and summer of 1953, the Department of History and Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI strongly encouraged students to use the theses of Georgiy Maksimilianovich in their written works on international affairs or Patriotic War<sup>2</sup>. When the youth showed the “inability” to use the works of the new coryphaeus, the work was evaluated extremely low. The elders did it the same way. Thus, the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism, Dmytro Stepanov used the quotes from the speeches of the official during the opening of scientific conferences and meetings<sup>3</sup>. His colleague Borys Lozovskyi was openly referring to the “genius Malenkov”, calling him the successor of the case of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin<sup>4</sup>. And in some way they acted as the whole population and interpreted Malenkov as politicians abroad. For example, he was connected with the preservation of Stalin’s way of rule in the Western press as well: “Mr. Malenkov assured that he will continue a policy of increased material and cultural prosperity, stronger defenses and universal peace<sup>5</sup>”.

The similarity of that new sacred tandem “Stalin-Malenkov” was observed not only in Poltava, but, for example, in the Zaporizhzhya Pedagogical Institute<sup>6</sup>.

Interestingly, the image of the new classics of science was also supported in the field of philology. Language departments reported on solving the problems of the typology in the literature according to the new “Malenkov’s teaching”<sup>7</sup>. Poltava educator Petro Padalka included that as a compulsory question in his lectures for students, frankly saying that “the problem of typology was always a political issue<sup>8</sup>”. All other teachers who were not so “politically conscious” received insistent recommendations to use the literary statements of Malenkov in everyday scientific and pedagogical activities<sup>9</sup>. They even were invited at the special seminar

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<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op. 1, spr.176, ark.23.

<sup>2</sup> APNPU, f. 1(z/v), op. 1956 (Ukr. viddil) (K-M), spr.2088. Kondratenko Vasyl' Kyrylovych (1951-1956), ark.19, 27.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 29, ark. 29.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.432, ark.235.

<sup>5</sup> “Malenkov Named Premier (1953): in our pages: 100, 75 and 50 years ago”, *The New York Times*, March 17, 2003, 1.

<sup>6</sup> TsDAVO, f. 166, op. 15, spr. 1295, ark. 4.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.395, ark. 79zv.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1. spr.394, ark.33.

<sup>9</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1. spr.434, ark.3zv.

on that issue<sup>1</sup>. Having raised their “political education”, philologists repleted their texts of lecturers with the examples of synonyms and homonyms found in ... all Malenkov’s speeches and papers<sup>2</sup>. Otherwise, their lectures were criticized as happened with Oleksandr Danysko<sup>3</sup>.

However, we should remark that philologists did not separate the teachings of Stalin and his brilliant follower Malenkov contraversing them<sup>4</sup>. They simply gradually withdrew a new leader from the shadow of a previous one equalizing his influence on the scientific development of the literature<sup>5</sup>. A similar message of creating “Malenkov’s way” was given to the public in the speech of the Head of the Soviet Government at the session of the Supreme Council of the USSR in 1953 about the invincibility of the party course<sup>6</sup>. However, even in his words that “our business” did not become “Malenkov’s”. The report, published later<sup>7</sup>, was promoted among the educators as an evidence of continuation of the case of Stalin<sup>8</sup>.

Howeve, there are facts saying that in Kharkiv citizens requested to stop cinema sessions, concerts and performances of the artists just to listen to that Malenov’s speech<sup>9</sup>. And the level of references to Malenkov in Poltava regional press showed that the interest to the living prime minister was much higher than love ti a ritual image of the dead leader. During the time of the session of the Supreme Council of the USSR and after it, we have 143 references to his name (which is almost four times more than the reference to Stalin’s personality).

But while Malenov was portrayed as deciple of Stalin in the pages “Big Soviet Encyclopedia”<sup>10</sup>, most of the speeches of the teachers of the pedagogical institutes in the Ukrainian SSR showed their deep resperct to the official<sup>11</sup>. In the eyes of the staff of Poltava SPA, he had bright features of a leading statesman. And there were enough reasons for this. Only the fact that he was the person reading the report on

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.434, ark.14.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 392, ark.98; 100.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr. 383, ark.32zv.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.434, ark.10.

<sup>5</sup> Kuz’menko, Andriy. “Znachennya pratsi Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina «Ekonomichni problemy sotsializmu v SRSR» dlya rozvytku literaturoznavstva i khudozhn’oyi literatury ”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 18, 1953, no.78, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “Promova Holovy Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR tovarysha G.M. Malenkova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 09, 1953, no.158, 1-4.

<sup>7</sup> “Vydannya materialiv pyatoyi sesiyi Verkhovnoyi rady SRSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 19, 1953, no.165, 1.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f.P-15, op. 2, spr. 1343, ark. 118.

<sup>9</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op. 24, spr. 2776, ark. 1.

<sup>10</sup> “Malenkov Georgiy Maksimmilianovich” in *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya*. T.26. (Moskva: Gos. nauch. izdat. «BSE», 1954), 145-146

<sup>11</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 71, spr. 89, 114.

the criminal acts of Beria before the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU was worth much<sup>1</sup> (in 1956, the inhabitants of Poltava regarded to that as to a heroic deed in a series steps of de-Stalinisation and praised their hero Malenkov<sup>2</sup>).

To ensure the prominent position of Malenkov, numerous news stories showed thousands of people in the halls rise with premier's appearance<sup>3</sup>, depicted the Soviets thank him for concern<sup>4</sup>, report<sup>5</sup> and give high socialist promises to their leader<sup>6</sup>. Malenkov's image along with the image of Khrushchev inspired young people to leave their homes for the cultivation of steppes of Kazakhstan<sup>7</sup>. An the whole Poltava region "confidentially nominated Malenkov a member of parliament from their land<sup>8</sup> continuing that practice from time to time<sup>9</sup>.

Finally, we should recall that the positive image of Georgy Maksimilianovich that was later broken in the heads of educators, was rooted into the heads not only with the help of single "ideological cartoons". An important role in shaping the views of the staff of the high school on Malenkov as a worthy leader were played by the decreases of the prices in the USSR<sup>10</sup>. They were presented as a merit of the government of the country, and the change of price tags in stores was a nationwide holiday<sup>11</sup>. Students and teachers showed a unique emotional attitude towards their Prime Minister – "heartfelt gratitude". It was under this heading that the "Zorya Poltavshchyny" wrote about the "patriotic rise" among students and professors of the Poltava SPA on the reduction of prices in stores. In honor of that the general collections of collectives were held and explanatory lectures were read. The first-year students in the best traditions of Stalin's time promised Malenkov to give all their forces "in response to the care of the party and the government", because they "steadily led [the Soviet people] by the way indicated by Comrade Stalin<sup>12</sup>".

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<sup>1</sup> "Informatsiyne povidomlennya pro Plenum Tsentralnoho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Radyanskoho Soyuzu", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 10, 1953, no.135, 1.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. 15, op. 2, spr. 1551, ark. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Mart 1954 goda. No 17. (Director: Rybakova A., 1954).

<sup>4</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Yanvar 1954 goda. No 04. (Director: Lyanos K., 1954).

<sup>5</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Yanvar 1954 goda. No 08. (Director: Repnikov S., 1954).

<sup>6</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Fevral 1954 goda. No 10. (Director: Kiselyov F., 1954).

<sup>7</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Mart 1954 goda. No 13. (Director: Poselskiy I., 1954).

<sup>8</sup> "Vysunennya kandydativ v deputaty Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR (Poltavs'ka oblast)", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 02, 1954, no.125, 1.

<sup>9</sup> "Vysuvannya kandydativ u deputaty Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrayins'koyi RSR", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 16, 1955, no.11, 1.

<sup>10</sup> "Pro nove znyzhennya derzhavnykh rozdribnykh tsin na prodovol'chi y promyslovi tovary", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 01, 1953, no.67, 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. April 1954 goda. No 20. (Director: Tulubyova Z., 1954).

<sup>12</sup> "Serdechna podyaka", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 19, 1953, no.69, 2.



Mykola Breheda mentioned that educators also fervently supported the government's initiative on reforming the taxation of agriculture<sup>1</sup>.

The first blow on the authority of the politician was Malenkov's dismissal from the post of the Head of the government in February 1955<sup>2</sup>. It caused ambivalent feelings among teachers. We can say that it even planted some doubt in his state-building abilities. Malenkov himself tried to re-assure people in his managing skills in the following speeches<sup>3</sup>. However, with the attack on the opponent, N. Khrushchev actively applied the method of "liberal carrot" and "ideological stick". Along with accusing Malenkov of many sins, he was appointed the Minister of Soviet power plants and the Deputy Chairman of the new government already the next day after his release<sup>4</sup>.

### MOLOTOV: STALIN'S FLAG-BEARER OF PEACE

The political portrait of the signatory of the fateful covenant of the division of Europe between the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany in the consciousness of the educators is quite unusual itself. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov in the memory of the Soviet people, long after his rapid fall from the tops of the Soviet political Olympus, was a symbol of a strong foreign policy of the state even since the "golden age" of the Leninist undertakings.

We can remind as one of the teachers of Poltava, a graduate of the regional SPI, O. Koba shared her experiences during the time of "debunking of the politician" in 1957:

*"in my mind, there are now memories of the fact that when I was not born yet, but V. M. Molotov had already been an outstanding and prominent statesman, and in the age of 10-11 I had already read and knew about him a lot. I believed him. And now it's so meager to realize that he and other alike to him were on the way to betrayal..."*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Breheda, Mykola. Protses destalinizatsiyi i suspil'ni nastroyi ukrayins'koho naseleння u 1953-1964 rr.: Monohrafiya. (Mykolayiv, 2010), 62.

<sup>2</sup> "Postanova Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR «Pro uvil'nennya tovarysha Malenkova H. M. vid obov"yazkiv Holovy Rady Ministriv SRSR»", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 09, 1955, no.29, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Spil'ne zasidannya Rady Soyuzu i Rady natsional'nostey", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 09, 1955, no.29, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Postanova Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR «Pro pryznachennya tov. Malenkova H.M. Ministrom elektrostantsiy SRSR i Zastupnykom Holovy Rady Ministriv SRSR» vid 9 lyutoho 1955 roku", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 10, 1955, no.30, 2.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. P-244, op. 1, spr. 4044, ark.21.

Bred in Stalin's era, the first deputy of the tyrant in the government of the USSR, Molotov rarely appeared on pages of periodicals separately from his boss. And, on the contrary to Nikita Khrushchev, he was almost absent in the poetry of Ukrainian Soviet writers. However, the children of the Soviet Union recalled him as the initiator of the Soviet state slightly at the same level as Stalin every year in the shade of parks of the All-Union children's sanatorium "Artek":

<i>“И помнит каждый час Великий Молотов о нас! Как много сделал этот человек! Мы во дворе живём, И мы всегда поём: Артек! Артек!”<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>“And remembers every hour Great Molotov about us! That person has done so much! We live in a palace And always sing: Artek! Artek!”</i>
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Along with me, since the early 1940s, somewhere during the benqrts, the elderly singers called “to raise the glasses” for the health of the builder of communism:

<i>“Пусть живет на свете Он долгие годы Всем врагам на гибель, На счастье народа – Вячеслав Михайлович, Всей страны избранник, Гений, самого Сталина боевой соратник”<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>“Let him live in the world for many years For the death of all enemies, For the happiness of the people – Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, All-country's elect, Genius, Stalin's comrade-in-arms”.</i>
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However, as we see, even as being an embodiment of the foreign policy of the USSR, Molotov was conceived as a follower of Stalin. In January 1953, according to the number of references (34) in the Poltava regional periodical, he ranked third after Comrade Stalin (1046) and Malenkov (43). It can be odd, but even agricultural news was working on his political image: among the kolkhozes mentioned only in the Poltava oblast periodicals, 38% fulfilled socialist obligations

<sup>1</sup> Mikhalkov, Sergey. “Artek!” URL: <http://www.sovmusic.ru/text.php?fname=mipioner>

<sup>2</sup> Isakovskiy M. “V. M. Molotovu (velichal'naya pesnya)”  
URL: <http://www.sovmusic.ru/text.php?fname=molotovu>

bearing the name of Molotov (15 out of 39). In this respect, he 1.3 times overtook even the “favourite fellow of Soviet farmers”, Comrade Khrushchev.

With the death of Stalin, Vyacheslav Molotov remained as Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, entered the presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and continued to implement the best examples of classical socialist foreign policy, heading the Foreign Ministry<sup>1</sup>. The French and Norwegian government officials addressed their condolences with the death of Stalin during March of 1953 directly to “His Excellency Mr. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR” and to no one else<sup>2</sup>. And although in the general list of such appeals Molotov was addressed only in 14% (3 out of 22 printed), they had their influence in rooting the image of a strong and authoritative statesman. His speech on the day of Stalin’s funeral was studied as separate departments of the pedagogical institutes. The educators had to pass special promotional seminars on it<sup>3</sup>. All these ideological readings for teachers were held strictly under the control of the workers of the regional committees of the party<sup>4</sup>.

When Khrushchev decided to combat Molotov, he had to ruin a concrete wall of authority. It was difficult to fight the image of a powerful statesman who was welcomed as a symbol of the USSR abroad by thousands of reporters<sup>5</sup>. It was hard to crash the one who spoke on behalf of the Union with all of Europe<sup>6</sup> and Asia<sup>7</sup>; whose portraits appeared in the crowds on holidays<sup>8</sup> and demonstrations in the Ukrainian SSR being also mentioned by the newspaper reviewers<sup>9</sup>. In the end, it was Vyacheslav Molotov, whose speeches were widely recommended for students to quote in their high school essays for decades<sup>10</sup>. Poltava lecturers cited the diplomate in their public speeches<sup>11</sup>. Kyiv educators recommended not only his papers but even the overviews of his visits to the regions as the basis for a country-study

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<sup>1</sup> “Postanova spil’noho zasidannya Tsentral’noho komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radians’koho Soyuzu, Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR ta Prezydiy Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR vid 7 bereznya 1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 07, 1953, no.48, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 07, 1953, no.48, 3.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.395, ark.2, 6zv.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-15, op. 2, spr. 1342, ark. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. May 1954 goda. No 26. (Director: Derbisheva L., 1954).

<sup>6</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Oktyabr 1954 goda. No 59. (Director: Karmazinskiy M., 1954).

<sup>7</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Avgust 1954 goda. No 44. (Director: Karmazinskiy M., 1954).

<sup>8</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. May 1954 goda. No 31. (Director: Vertova K., 1954).

<sup>9</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney*. Iyun 1954 goda. No 32. (Director: Venzher I., 1954).

<sup>10</sup> “Vydannya okremoyu broshuroyu dopovidi tov. V. M. Molotova «Pro mizhnarodne stanovishche i zovnishnyu polityku uryadu SRSR»”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 16, 1955, no.35, 1.

<sup>11</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 47, ark. 151.

courses<sup>1</sup>. He even overtook the place of the main law-interpreter when Stalin was debunked. For example, in 1956, the teacher of Poltava SPI Yemets addressed to Vyacheslav Molotov explaining the changes in the Soviet Constitution of 1935<sup>2</sup>. No wonder that when the scandal with the Anti-party arose, the educators of the Ukrainian SSR expressed their hatred to the “Molotov group<sup>3</sup>” – not Malenkov’s or Kaganovich’s one. Actually, they did the same as the press abroad<sup>4</sup>.

### KAGANOVICH: “THE QUIETEST ONE”

Lazar Miseyevich Kaganovich was undoubtedly one of the most successful politicians of the USSR, which today is considered one of the most bitter political punishers of Ukraine in the XX century. He left few people indifferent to his person. Some revered him: for example, the Oxford Sovietologist Harry Willets believed that he, like nobody, did everything that only one person could do for industrialization of the country, let alone neglecting the principle of “not by bread alone...”<sup>5</sup>. Others, such as the American historian Merle Fainsod, frankly called him a powerful sadist<sup>6</sup>. The third called him a political chameleon:

*“With a beard like Lenin’s in his early years, and a stark mustache like Stalin’s in his later years, Kaganovich was an adapter”<sup>7</sup>.*

The influence of his person on the consciousness of Soviet educators took place not only during the years of his rule as a General (and then the first) Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U. Having left the boundaries of the republic, he did not leave the political game, on the contrary, having achieved the highest public positions. His career was a strange example of behind-the-scenes games, and he played the role of such a Soviet “Talleyrand” for a long time, which could not be sunk down by the storms of the state tempests. His political position for a long time depended on general welfare of Joseph Stalin’s “messianic age”.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. R-6829, op. 1, spr. 51, ark. 40.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.554, ark.221-222.

<sup>3</sup> DACHO, f. P-2187, op. 1, spr. 23, ark. 179.

<sup>4</sup> “Moscow Communique on Ouster of Molotov Group; Affected by the Latest Shake-Up in the Presidium”, *The New York Times*, July 04, 1957. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Willets, Harry. “The “Literary Opposition” in *Russia under Khrushchev : an anthology of problems of communism* (New York : Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 360.

<sup>6</sup> Fainsod, Merle. “The Twenty-second party Congress” in *Russia under Khrushchev : an anthology of problems of communism* (New York : Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 142.

<sup>7</sup> Clines, Francis. “L.M. Kaganovich, Stalwart of Stalin, Dies at 97”, *The New York Times*, July 27, 1991. 10.

The fateful “Resolution...” of March 7, 1953 that divided “Stalin’s pie of the USSR”, gave a role of the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the state to Kaganovich as, leaving him in the Presidium of the Central Committee<sup>1</sup>. However, he wasn’t well-known to the common people. They learned of him mostly because of the brief official announcements in honor of his sixtieth anniversary<sup>2</sup> or while reading his speeches at major solemn meetings<sup>3</sup>, where he never went beyond the official party course, successfully maneuvering in ideological storms<sup>4</sup>.

However, when his conflict with Khrushchev started to gain spins, he quite quickly fell down to the chair of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers for Labour and wages<sup>5</sup> and then to the chair of Minister of Industry and building materials<sup>6</sup> (the process that was called by M. Fainsod as a “decline of Kaganovich to the Minister of Building”<sup>7</sup>).

### SHAKING THE TITANS

Knowing the place of these political figures in the minds of the average people, it is quiet understandable that the news about their “anti-party deeds” was a real shock. The young teachers openly said that perceived that information “very painfully”<sup>8</sup>. However, the elder generation of educators, tempered in a flame of party conflicts of Stalin’s times, often kept silence and sometimes received admonitions for being indifferent to the debunking of politicians. They were strictly judged for the attempts “to smear the effect of the events”<sup>9</sup>. However, the “effect” was achieved.

Media hunger around the question of the anti-party group, skillfully organized by the authorities during the first days, helped to keep the people’s attitude towards the “new enemies” within the “official line”. So, the number of references to the names of the controversial statesmen in the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” during the period

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<sup>1</sup> “Postanova spil’noho zasidannya Tsentral’noho komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu, Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR ta Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR vid 7 bereznya 1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 07, 1953, no.48, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Tovaryshevi Kahanovychu Lazarevi Moyseyovychu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 22, 1953, no.232, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Yanvar' 1954 goda*, no.5 (Director: Venzher Í.,1954)

<sup>4</sup> “38-i rokovyny Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi Sotsialistychnoyi revolyutsiyi. Dopovid' tov. L. M. Kahanovycha na urochystomu zasidanni Moskovs'koyi Rady 6 lystopada 1955 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 07, 1955, no.223, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> “Khronika”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 13, 1956, no.94, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “Khronika”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 04, 1956, no.74, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Fainsod, Merle. “What happened to “Collective Leadership”?” in *Russia under Khrushchev : an anthology of problems of communism* (New York : Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 105.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.2337, ark.32

<sup>9</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.6006, ark.46

of “thaw”, shows that since November 1957 the monthly indicator of appeals to the former leaders fell to zero. In further years, they were mentioned only situationally right to the next congress or plenum. Number of those references was limited to one or three newspapers, and messages created an atmosphere of even more hatred to “traitors”. We also should keep in mind that Kaganovich had already leaved in some information sel-isolation comparing to his colleagues so it didn’t hit him as muck as it did with Molotov and malenkov. And when the “inner Party revolution” happened, Lazar moiseevich , on the contrary, received extremely much attention. It was unusual to him. We see it even in people’s reactions. Thus, in July of 1957, Poltava citizens noticed that “Kaganovich sat silent before, and now showed his face as fractionist”<sup>1</sup>.

The success of Khrushchev’s “Anri-party business” largely depended on the fact that the university administrations and leaders of the party started to spread the details of the case on the “official protecting light”<sup>2</sup>. The lecturers used to go to schools and other establishments propagating the negative image of the politicians way outside their universities<sup>3</sup>.

The flywheel of creation of the images of enemies was launched with extraordinary force. Less than in a month the publication on anti-Party group in the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” reached the number of 70. The ordinary reader almost every day received a portion of ideologically filtered information that convinced him that “the will of the party was the people’s will”<sup>4</sup>, he was sure that “... all workers unanimously approved a resolution of the June plenum of the Central Committee”, and that not looking at the deeds of the three politicians, there was “no break of Leninist party unity”<sup>5</sup>. These phrases impactes on sensory sphere, and in any case not the rational part of human nature: “The people will never forgive their subterranean intrigue conspiracies, will not forget their shameful anti-party, anti-people acts. We will not forget, we will not forgive!”<sup>6</sup>. People had to be convinced that the confrontation with the “hell trio” united everyone – from peasants to representatives of literary and scientific elite of the USSR.

Khrushchev came back to the deepening of the negative image of politicians several times after their resign. The first debates between the teachers of the SPIs, of

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.6006, ark.47

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5277, ark.27zv

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.630, ark.21

<sup>4</sup> “Volya partiyi – volya narodu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 06, 1957, no.133, 1.

<sup>5</sup> “Razom z Tsentral’nym Komitetom, razom z partiyeyu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 09, 1957, no.135, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “Vsim sertsem z ridnoyu partiyeyu. Zbory pratsivnykiv literatury i mystetstva stolytsi Ukrayiny”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 12, 1953, no.137, 2.

course, started with the release of the CC of the CPSU order from July 1957 on the ordering of the appropriation of the names of outstanding figures to institutions and organizations which became the law in September. It said, in particular:

*“During the period of the proliferation of the cult of personality, the names of state and public figures began to be assigned to a large number of districts, cities, settlements, enterprises, collective farms, and educational institutions during their lifetime. This practice leads to the wrongful elevation of individuals, diminishing the role of the party, as the collective leader and organizer of the masses, does not contribute to the proper education of personnel in the spirit of party modesty<sup>1</sup>.”*

In the flow of that the director of Cherkasy SPI Oleksandr Tkanko declared it was stupid to erect monuments during man's life when someone mentioned the members of the “Anti-party group”. His colleague Hanna Bondarenko even told that the farmers of Helmyaziv district expressed to the teacher their dissatisfaction with the fact “that their farms were named after Malenkov<sup>2</sup>.”

But that was only the beginning. When the Party welcomed each new plenum, it tried to recall to the people how they heroically defeated the “anti-Party factional group”<sup>3</sup>. It happened in 1958. And repeated with the same words in 1961<sup>4</sup>. Each time the educators listened to that information with “solemn support of debunking campaign”<sup>5</sup>.

That political anathema became evident even in the cultural documents. Thus the paper of the CC of the CPSU in 1958 “On the correction of errors in the evaluation of the operas “Great Friendship”, “Bohdan Khmelnytsky” and “From the pure heart”. It emphasized the positive impact of Muradeli's opera “The Great Friendship” on the development of socialist realism, on the level of work of K.

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<sup>1</sup> “Ukaz Prezidiuma VS SSSR ot 11.09.1957 “Ob uporyadochenii dela prisvoyeniya imen gosudarstvennykh i obshchestvennykh deyateley administrativno-territorial'nykh yedinitam, naseleennykh punktam, predpriyatiyam, uchrezhdeniyam, organizatsiyam i drugim ob'yektam”, URL: <http://lawru.info/dok/1957/09/11/n1193034.htm>

<sup>2</sup> DACHO, f.P-2187, op.1, spr.23, ark.70-71.

<sup>3</sup> “Prohrama roz-hornutoho budivnytstva komunistychnoho suspil'stva”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 18, 1958, no.226, 1.

<sup>4</sup> “Shchodennyky, XXII z'yizdu KPRS”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 22, 1961, no.212, 1.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.673, ark.12

Dankevych “Bogdan Khmel'nitsky”, previously criticized by Joseph Stalin... But explained it with the negative impact of Molotov, Malenkov and Beria<sup>1</sup>.

To this, the universities of USSR periodically carried out the removals of books by the disgraced politicians from their libraries. Thus, according to the order of the Department of the military and state secrets in the press of the USSR, in 1959, the libraries removed separately published pamphlets, books and portraits of G. Malenkov, L. Kaganovich, V. Molotov, N. Bulganin, and D. Shepilov (for example, Hkukhiv teachers in 1959 threw away 253 copies of 38 titles of their works<sup>2</sup>).

Over time, the term “anti-Party group” in everyday use slightly faded. Sometimes even the skilled ideologists started to get lost in the sizes and names. The educators even could not say exactly why they were thrown away from the party. Some said that they were the promoters of the personality cult of Stalin<sup>3</sup>. Others said that they created their own cults<sup>4</sup>. The third ones explained that the “Anti-Party group” consisted from the destructors of the economical life of the country<sup>5</sup>. They even could figure out the names properly. Thus, the head of Marxism-Leninism department of Berdychiv SPI Fedir Buryanovskyi told the youth that over the years the composition of the anti-group ... expanded with the persons previously not involved in it<sup>6</sup>.

Speaking of a time of the change of the vision of the politicians. We need to make some remarks. The first period – named as crisis one – lasted from January 1953 to July 1957. The foreign press sometimes dubbed to it as to the time of confrontation between the leaders. This is a period when they were known as great statesmen and fine managers. The attitude of educators towards them was quite supportive<sup>7</sup>.

The main forming period lasted during July of 1957 when the Order of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On the anti-Party group of Malenkov G.M., Kaganovich L.M., Molotov V.M.” appeared. The dry informational message only stated that the “villains of the group” were withdrawn from the Presidium of the Central Committee and the Central Committee. It also briefly reported on the removal from the office of the Secretary of the CPSU and the

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<sup>1</sup> “Postanova TSK KPRS «Pro vypravlennya pomylok v otsyntsi oper «Velyka druzhba», «Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi» i «Vid shchyroho sertsya» vid 28 travnya 1958 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 10, 1958, no.113, 1.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.292, ark.1-2

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.5zv

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-6829, op.1, spr.123, ark.156

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4832, ark.1-3

<sup>6</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.253, ark.139

<sup>7</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.2776, ark.4



withdrawal from the candidates for the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU of Dmitriy Shepilov<sup>1</sup>. However, the resolution that came after it was quite verbose. It drew vivid images of conspirators who “during the last 3-4 years, when the party took a decisive course to correct errors and defects caused by the cult of personality” strictly followed “direct or indirect opposition course” to the line approved by the XX Congress<sup>2</sup>. We can state that these Khrushchev’s actions were not understood by the editors at once. The obscurity of the decision of the Central Committee was quite obvious, because representatives of the educational elite of Poltava mentioned that while listening to a radio they “did not believe that could happen to such people”<sup>3</sup>.

The reaction of local party branches, as always, was instantaneous. Party activists of the Soviet capital unreservedly condemned “reckless actions of a group of splitters”<sup>4</sup>. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Oleksiy Kyrychenko also hastened to brand his former colleagues as “a political blind men”<sup>5</sup>.

Interestingly, but we find some attempts to mutilate the memory of Stalin among the educators of the SPIs during the discussion on that resolution. So, Poltava teacher Mykola Rizun accused them in the repression of 1937-1938. He remembered that it was Lazar Kaganovich who convinced Stalin to repress Red army commander Iona Yakir<sup>6</sup>. In the separate speeches educators called the trio “Beria’s fosterlings” making them guilty of numerous crimes of the Stalinist era, whose activities, “if they had not been stopped, would have led to bloody consequences”<sup>7</sup>.

In Cherkasy SPI, they organized the expanded meeting with the employees of the institutions the institute collaborated with in daily work (libraries, museums and galleries). The head of the Regional Library Mr. Kuzmenko then said to the teachers: “We can forgive the young and elderly, but we can not forgive the members of anti-party group, because it was not an error, but this is clearly a hostile line”<sup>8</sup>. The teachers of Kharkiv<sup>9</sup> and other institutes even offered to seek the supporters and

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<sup>1</sup> “Informatsiyne povidomlennya pro Plenum Tsentral’noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 04, 1953, no.131, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Postanova Plenumu TsK KPRS «Pro antypartiynu hrupu Malenkova H. M., Kahanovycha L. M., Molotova V. M.»”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 04, 1953, no.131, 1.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P- 251, op.1, spr.5192, ark.27.

<sup>4</sup> “Komunisty, vsi trudyashchi odnostayno skhvalyuyut’ postanovu TsK KPRS. Zbory partiynoho aktyvu Moskovs’koyi mis’koyi partorhanizatsiyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 05, 1957, no.132, 1.

<sup>5</sup> “Yednist’ partiyi – nepokhytna! Na zborakh partaktyviv”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 06, 1957, no.133, 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4830, ark.30

<sup>7</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.4255, 370 ark.

<sup>8</sup> DACHO, f.P-2187, op.1, spr.23, ark.40-42

<sup>9</sup> DAKhO, f.R-1780, op.3, spr.461, ark.65

dissenters of the newly proclaimed enemies among the broad masses of Soviet people<sup>1</sup>. They tried to do it everywhere, thus, the All-Union meeting of heads of the sub-departments of social science teachers managed to find the “opposition” among them as well. They saw the “anti-party follower” in the unknown educator who passed to the Presidium of the meeting a note: “Do you think to promote the idea of socialism in capitalist countries with meat, milk and butter?”<sup>2</sup>.

Overall, the educators of the UkrSSR gave many unfavorable adjectives and comparisons to Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov. For a short time of their meetings in summer of 1957 they were called “thieves”, “self-seekers”, “careerists”, “enemies of the people”, “Pharisees”, and “conspirators”<sup>3</sup>. For example, the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos without hesitation called the conspirators “Sellers of Christ”, Judas” and “hucksters”. The issue of propaganda among the students of the decisions of the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU remained a special one, as it was in the discussion of the problem of combating the cult of a person. The elders did the job perfectly<sup>4</sup>. As a result, the young people of the Ukrainian SSR perceived attacks on former leaders “with a great upswing of mood”<sup>5</sup>.

The period from August 1956 to December 1964 was the most controversial in the terms of influence on the masses of educators. On the one hand, the state continued to interpret the “anti-Party cativity” as a criminal one. On the other, young people stood at a crossroads of misunderstanding. So, the students of Luhansk Pedagogical Institute in 1961 repeatedly asked non-confessional teachers what were the real antiparty actions of the group. And the mentors could not explain exactly<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.4484, 319 ark.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4830, ark.29

<sup>3</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.154, 128 ark.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4830, ark.31, 141

<sup>5</sup> DAKhO, f.R-4293, op.2, spr.684, ark.66

<sup>6</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.253, ark.86

## 6

### **Zhukov: Marshal With Bonapartist Manners**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Shortly after dethroning of the “Anti-Party Group”, the flow of everyday of teachers was stormed by the exposing of the legend of Soviet war machine Georgiy Zhukov. Today the place of the marshal in the World War is still ambivalent. Russian propaganda positions him as the wise planner and great military manager. But there are other arguing all of these titles. For example, Viktor Astafiev was in the row of the first to question Zhukov’s leadership qualities in his novel “First – the, then the people”<sup>1</sup>. And for the Ukrainian researcher, the publicist and the Hero Levko Lukyanenko Marshal G. Zhukov, despite numerous Soviet medals and titles, is an illiterate butcher of this country<sup>2</sup>. This research doesn’t answer the question that the politician was indeed. It is the prerogative of his biographers and the specialists in military history. Our task was therefore to find out how everyday perception of Zhukov in the minds of teachers of the SPIs of the UkrSSR has changed. For Zhukov’s case for really unique. Philip E. Mosely noticed that in the history of the USSR it was rather rare fact that the military marshal retained the interest of the people after the war had cooled<sup>3</sup>. How happened that the hero was turned into the political ghost?

#### **A STRATEGIST NUMBER TWO**

The so-called zero-image of Georgiy Zhukov in the outlook of the teachers of the Ukrainian SSR in the early 1950’s was extremely positive. As Andrey Mertsalov mentions, our hero was known to be the second person in the military leadership of

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<sup>1</sup> Astafiev, Viktor. “Snachala snaryady, potom – lyudy”, *Rodina*, 1991, no.6–7, 52-56.

<sup>2</sup> Lukyanenko, Levko. *Marshal Zhukov i ukrayintsi u Druhiy svitoviy viyni* (Boryspil, Sobornist’, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Mosely, Philip. *Russia after Stalin* (New York: Foreign Policy Assosiation, 1955), 20.

the country after Stalin<sup>1</sup>. Even when the “Father of the peoples” died in 1953, students of pedagogical institutes continued formulating the traditional logical chains in their written works placing Zhukov in a row right behind the late generalissimos<sup>2</sup>. And when they forgot to do so for some reason their lecturers felt the obligation to note the need of placing praises to marshal Zhukov in the essays on the sources of power of the USSR in the Second World War<sup>3</sup>. That aura of sacredness and understanding that “Zhukov is an Army, Zhukov is the Victory<sup>4</sup>” was common not only in the circle of educators but in the whole Soviet society of that time. The direct connection of the marshal with the May Victory of 1945 was rooted into the consciousness of the Soviet people through the chronicles of the day – ten-minute long newslets. In one of them, dated April 1955, showed a military newsreel to the 10th anniversary of Berlin’s taking. After the fights near Berlin, there was shown a Red Flag over the Reichstag as a symbol of Victory –chronologically right near the mention of emphasizing the name of Georgiy Zhukov<sup>5</sup>. Even more, in August of 1957, after his assistant to Khrushchev in overthrowing Malenkov, the press titled Zhukov one of the living “symbols of the Soviet victory over fascist Germany<sup>6</sup>”.

However that parallels of Marshal and the releasing Europe from the Nazi slavery were used against the politician already in couple of years when he lost “Party’s trust”. Then, all those eulogizing the politician, started to say that the minister did much for gradual replacement of their beloved “father Stalin” in all what was connected with the Great War. For example, Kremenchuk citizens mentioned that Zhukov even sneaked into the production of the new documentary on the Battle of Stalingrad, which became known after it as “The Great Battle” and the cult of J. Stalin was replaced by the cult of G. Zhukov<sup>7</sup>.

The appointment of Georgiy Konstantinovich in 1953, initially the first deputy, and from February 1955, the Minister of Defense of the country strengthened his position in the political consciousness of people<sup>8</sup>. It should be noted that he was

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<sup>1</sup> Mertsalov, A. “Pod giypnozom sil’noy lichnosti”, *Rodina*, 1991, no.6-7, 115.

<sup>2</sup> APNPU, f.1.(z/v), op.1956 (Ukr. viddil) (K-M), spr.2085. Kolchuk Dariya Pavlivna (1951-1956), ark.26

<sup>3</sup> APNPU, f.1.(z/v), op.1956 (Ros. viddil) (A-H), spr.2147. Bandur Kateryna Vasylivna (1951-1956), ark.17

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4411, ark.68

<sup>5</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Aprel 1955 goda. No 25 (Director: Slavinskaya M.,1955)

<sup>6</sup> Kotlov, P. “Torzhestvo lenins’koyi natsional’noyi polityky Komunistychnoyi partiyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 24, 1957, no.167, 2.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.P-13, op.1, spr. 639, ark.208zv

<sup>8</sup> “Postanova Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR “Pro uvil’nennya Holovy Rady Ministriv tovarysha Bulhanina M.O. vid obov’yazkiv Ministra obrony SRSRR i pro pryznachennya marshala Radyans’koho Soyuzu Zhukova H. K. Ministrom obrony SRSR vid 9 lyutoho 1955 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 10, 1955, no.30, 2

interesting to and trusted by the Soviets. The foreign people wanted to know about him not less than they used to read in their press about the Party leader Nikita Khrushchev or the Head of the Council of Ministers Nikolay Bulganin<sup>1</sup>. The love to his figure was fueled in the best examples of the late-Stalinist practice of the cult of personality by the state itself. For example, the chronicles of the day periodically showed him in the row of “famous marshals and generals” of the Union, proudly looking from the presidium at the halls full of military men<sup>2</sup>. Later they emphasized each new “diplomatic victory” of the Minister. Wearing recognizable military uniform, he was welcoming foreign politicians as it was February of 1956 during the meeting at the Belarusian Railway Station of the Vice-President of the People’s Republic of China Marshal Zhu De<sup>3</sup>.

He successfully moved to the international arena as well. In March of 1957 when he was in the first row of those signing Berlin agreement between the governments of the Soviet Union and the GDR on the temporary deployment of Soviet troops in the territory of the GDR<sup>4</sup> or his April agreement on the legal status of Soviet troops temporarily based in Romania<sup>5</sup>. Zhukov became a member of a “State trinity” who solved not only inner Soviet problems but also tried to influence the situation in the world. Thus, he was shown during the seeing off at the airport with N. Khrushchev and N. Bulganin as a member of Soviet government delegation in Geneva to attend the Meeting of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers in July of 1955<sup>6</sup>. As we see, people had no other opportunity but to count him the column of the Soviet military force – the most experienced and the most honored one. Even the press of Poltava region the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” mentions his foreign visits or regular international awards in each second issue during the three years of his being at the office of the Minister<sup>7</sup>. In average, we counted 407 mentions of marshal’s name in 774 editions for 3 years (1955-1957).

Even on the eve of his “political anathema”, educators spoke of Zhukov with the standard row of features: a stable party member<sup>8</sup>, a skilled diplomat, a morally pure citizen<sup>9</sup> and, in the opinion of Poltava educator Mykola Rizun, incorruptible

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<sup>1</sup> “Rozмова H. K Zhukova z amerykans'kymy zhurnalistamy V. R. Kherstom, Kinsberri Smitom i F. Konnifom 7 lyutoho 1955 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 15, 1955, no.33, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Fevral 1954 goda. No 12 (Director: Genina I.,1954)*

<sup>3</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Fevral 1956 goda. No 6 (Director: Kristi L.,1956)*

<sup>4</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Mart 1957 goda. No 11 (Director: Solovyova N.,1957)*

<sup>5</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Aprel 1957 goda. No 17 (Director: Solovyova N.,1957)*

<sup>6</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Iyul 1955 goda. No 41 (Director: Solovyova N.,1955)*

<sup>7</sup> “Khronika”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 22, 1956, no.121, 4.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5649, ark.33

<sup>9</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4604, ark.29

government official who helped rescue the party from splitting by the “Anti-Party group of Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich” (remember this quote of Poltava educator to mention the catastrophic change in the attitude towards the politician in a year when the CPSU turns back from Zhukov)<sup>1</sup>. We should understand that after Zhukov’s participation in the Anti-party group overthrow, he gained even more political capital as Khrushchev could imagine. When analyzing the news bulletins on the celebrating the Day of the Navy of the USSR in Leningrad, we see him as the only hero – a man in white. The USSR Minister of Defense, Marshal Zhukov was shown bypassing the ships on the boat, speaking to the sailors. The people saw Zhukov in all his glory. What could they else think of him except the magnificence when the military shouted “Hurray!” in hundreds of voices July of 1957<sup>2</sup>?

The Poltava historian Stepan Danishev in his lectures urged to set Marshal Zhukov as an example to other statesmen of the USSR<sup>3</sup>. And after the “political massacre” over the anti-party group, Poltava region elite understood the Leninist core of the CPSU only as a union of two people – Nikita Khrushchev and Georgiy Zhukov<sup>4</sup>. The original portrait of marshal therefore was an image of a “son of the people<sup>5</sup>” that was not perceived well by Minister’s political competitor. That was a real threat to the Party leader who was slowly building his own cult of personality. The approach of a new political war was quiet clearly seen even from abroad. That allowed Harry Schwartz to ask his contemporaries: “Russia’s most famous soldier now holds the balance of power in the Kremlin. Will he be Khrushchev’s successor? If so, what may we expect of him?”<sup>6</sup> And it took all their skills from the circle of Khrushchev to erase it from the memory of educators with already practiced methods of shock and informational avalanche.

## A NEW-BORN NAPOLEON

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4830, ark.2

<sup>2</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Iyul 1957 goda. No29 (Director: Solovyova N.,1957)

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4830, ark.2

<sup>4</sup> DAPO. f. R 13, op.1, spr.658, ark. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Yusova, Nataliya. “Formuvannya teoriiy pro davn’orus’ku narodnist’ v istorychniy dumtsi SRSR pid chas Velykoyi vitchyznyanoyi viyny (1941-1945 rr.)”, *Istoriografichni doslidzhennya v Ukrayini*, 2002, No.11, 358-383.

<sup>6</sup> Schwartz, H. “World-Wide Question: Zhukov’s Role; Russia’s most famous soldier now holds the balance of power in the Kremlin. Will he be Khrushchev’s successor? If so, what may we expect of him?”, *The New York Times*. October 06, 1957. 1.

The whole campaign of changing the place of Zhukov in the consciousness of educators lasted for a week period in the late October – early November of 1957. It was the time when the decision on the resignation of the Minister took place in Moscow, becoming known to the citizens of the USSR. The time for such changes was selected successfully coinciding with the celebration of the 50-th anniversary of the October Revolution. The holiday atmosphere shifted the emphasis of the attention of educators from the political struggle. The feast required bright events that attracted the attention of educators with parades and demonstrations from the capital to the farthest outskirts<sup>1</sup>. Educators of the UkrSSR lived in the same pace that the whole country lived in. They drowned in the atmosphere preparing the festival columns of demonstrators. Their everyday was turned to the collectivity that even sharpened at the eve of the party anniversary. The government used that ideological unity to rather quickly resolve “the problem of Zhukov” in the minds of the masses.

One should understand how deeply the educators were sunk into the tiny problems of the holiday. For example, Poltava SPI participated in numerous theoretical conferences in the city<sup>2</sup>. Students were planting trees and bushes in the central October Park under the slogans “not only to use the fruits of the Great October, but also to make efforts”<sup>3</sup>. The culmination of the festive was the jubilee scientific conference in the institute<sup>4</sup>. The one who has ever worked in the higher school in Ukraine knows that this saturation of events means that the person has no interest to what is happening “in the tops” not because of his or her apathy but because he or she is too troubled with the “earthly problems” of the micro-worlds of the institute. For example, we are sure that the educators of Poltava SPI were more concerned of the fact that they could not have manufactured the board of honored graduates or that they hadn’t started the rehearsals for the celebration than they were aware of Zhukov’s downfall. At least all the protocols of their party meetings and every-day documentation produced during that period showed no interest to the fate of the Minister of Defense<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> “Viys'kovyy parad i demonstratsiya trudyashchykh na Krasniy ploschi v Moskvi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 11, 1957, no.223, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Teoretychna konferentsiya, prysvyachena slavnym istorychnym podiyam ”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 25, 1957, no.212, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Sapozhnykov, Hryhoriy. “Studenty ozelenyuyut’ misto”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 26, 1957, no.213, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ovcharenko, Mykola. “Yuvileyna naukova konferentsiya v pedinstytuti”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 30, 1957, no.216, 4.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op. 1, spr. 4830, ark. 149

We assume that the decision to “eliminate” Zhukov during the celebration truly helped to avoid the excessive educators’ interest in the reasons and facts. Artillery volleys on Red Square began the celebration of the Great October throughout the Soviet Union already under the command of the new Minister of Defense Marshal Rodion Malinovskiy. That fact should have shocked the country but we do not know the reaction on that because of the absence of documents. However Khrushchev himself acted as nothing happened. He didn’t mention Zhukov’s question in his anniversary speech. The politician only empathized from the rostrum of the Supreme Council of the USSR how skillfully and promptly the party “swept from its road” the Anti-party group to the margins of history<sup>1</sup>. Thus, he turned the attention of teachers (and, actually, of the whole country) to the past debunking of “traitors”, but said nothing on the disgraced Marshal who once helped to do it. That meant that Zhukov’s downfall shouldn’t be even noticed by the people as their leaders saw nothing special in it as well.

However, the time of holidays passed, and people were coming back to the reality from the “fog of feast”. The authorities understood that they needed to explain a lot at least to the party members. To create a new vision of the marshal of the Great Victory, the authorities instantly influenced those ones who lobbied the new ideas in the pedagogical collectives and contributed to the dissemination of the new political visions. In the highly structured totalitarian society, these were the leaders of the party organizations and the management of the higher educational institutions. For example, the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos and the secretary of the party organization Mykola Rizun had already passed the “ideological programming” at the meeting of the city party activists two days before the official announcement of the resolution of the plenum on G. Zhukov. It was not hard to conclude that teachers of the institute should have been convinced to criticize Zhukov. Delivering a speech at that meeting, Mykola Rizun reminded that Soviet people “were struggling with those who were trying to diminish the leading role of the party not for the first time”. Moreover, he began to criticize the organization of army under Zhukov. However, this critic was in on the edge with education. He told: “there are many teachers of the institute and other workers who could speak to warriors with lectures and reports, but nobody invites them<sup>2</sup>”. From one hand it was a little bit miserable fault of the military leader Zhukov. However, it was in the list of the biggest problems because

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<sup>1</sup> “Sorok rokiv Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi sotsialistychnoyi revolyutsiyi. Dopovid’ tov. M. Khrushchova na yuvileyniy sesiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR 6 lystopada 1957 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 7, 1957, no.222, 2-5.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. P-12, op. 1, spr. 752, ark. 128.



marshal in that way leveled the provision on cultural patronage over the personnel of the army and navy issued in 1954<sup>1</sup>.

Nikita Khrushchev liked to involve in the process of political battles, as he used to say, “The aiming fire” of the Soviet press. A great information flow swallowed the teachers rapidly starting from 03, November, 1957. Then the newspapers published the report of the October Plenum of the CC of the CPSU and its resolution “On the improvement of the party-political work in the Soviet Army and Navy”<sup>2</sup>. They alleged Zhukov in violations of Lenin’s party leadership principles, the elimination of party control over the Armed Forces under his control, accused of imposing the cult of his personality and unjustified merits of past victories. The last and the hardest step was to explain to the ordinary party members why “the hero of all victories” hadn’t justified “the high trust revealed to him by the Party”<sup>3</sup>.

The ideologist organized couple of days of pressure on the masses, each day publishing notes demonstrating a fervent approval of the decisions of the Plenum<sup>4</sup>. In every article, the people from highs and lows of the society, of different professions and from different regions spoke on the behalf of the authorities in their wish to protect the Armed Forces of the USSR – “the child of the Communist Party”<sup>5</sup> – from the “excessive administrator” Zhukov<sup>6</sup>. But that informational avalanche on the case of G. Zhukov was stopped very quickly. The discussion that once was with the question of Beria or Stalin was dissolved in the next whirlpool of articles on a post-festive topics. The authorities needed only one reaction: “to close up the ranks even more closely around the Leninist Central Committee”. It is interesting but the Western press perceived the resign of Zhukov in a different light. If the Soviets made an accent on his political faults, the American press found his strategically errors as the main reason of Minister’s resignation. In October of 1957, Seymour Topping said in his article that the Soviet Union accused former Defense Minister Marshal Georgiy Zhukov of having sought to curtail the submarine building program<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> “Nove polozhennya pro kul’turne shefstvo nad osobovym skladom armiyi i flotu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 25, 1957, no.129, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Informatsiya pro Plenum Tsentral’noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Radians’koho Soyuzu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 3, 1957, no.219, 1.

<sup>3</sup> “Postanova Plenumu TsK KPRS “Pro polipshennya partiyno-politychnoyi roboty v Radians’kiy Armiyi i Floti”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 3, 1957, no.219, 1.

<sup>4</sup> “Partiya i narod palko skhvalyuyut’ postanovu Zhovtnevoho Plenumu TsK KPRS”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 5, 1957, no.220, 2.

<sup>5</sup> “Zbory partaktyvu Moskvyy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 7, 1957, no.220, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “Pikluvannya pro zmitsnennya Armiyi i Flotu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 5, 1957, no.220, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Topping, Seymour. “Soviet Says Zhukov Attempted To Block Submarine Program”, *The New York Times*, October 10, 1961, 2.

The closed party meeting in the pedagogical institutes on the question of Zhukov's removal took place in the first decade of November of 1957. For example, in Poltava SPI, the text of the ruling was read only to 72 party members. The others had to be satisfied with the "official" information published in the press. We also mentioned that in the case with Zhukov, high-ranked party controllers were absent in the meeting room of the institute. Even the text of the resolution was read by the historian Vasyl Kostenko but not a representative of the city Party Committee as always. We should note that party bosses were usually present at such kind of meetings and took the active part in the discussion as they did while the exposing of the "schismatic trio" of Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich couple of month earlier. May be, that was a sign of the lesser political weigh that the authorities assigned to the personality of Zhukov. At least, it was done to create such impression for the role of marshal in the political life of the country of the laste years was sensible). The specifics of organization of that party meeting let educators no opportunity to make their own conclusions. Thus, the secretary of the party organization of Poltava SPI Mykola Rizun asked questions and immediately answered them. In addition to limiting party members' ability to ask questions, he himself summed up the charges to the Minister. In addition to distorting history, diminishing the gigantic efforts of the Soviet people, and the heroism of the Armed Forces, he also added direct and indirect involvement of the former head of the Ministry of Defense in organizing of an anti-Soviet uprising in Hungary in autumn of 1956. The educator accused Zhukov in the removal of General Mikhail Kazakov from office of the first commander of the Southern Group of Soviet troops deployed urgently on the territory of Hungary after the suppression of the Uprising of 1956). His colleague from the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism Dmytro Stepanov accused Georgiy Konstantinovich of the superiority complex of Napoleon Bonaparte, criticizing the marshal for his confidence in the desire to "address to the Army and people over the head of the government and the party if he considered it necessary". The last two performances were a generalization of the views of the teaching staff and college students. On behalf of all the teachers, the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos, calling for the thoughts of Marshals Rodion Malinovsky, Konstantin Rokosovsky, Semyon Timoshenko and Sergei Biryuzov, accused the military commander of being behind the "tasks and requirements in the new conditions". While the voice of the students – Serhiy Nemchyn – duplicated the pathetic lines from the regional press in support of the correct decision of the party. In the resolution, the teachers "with great pleasure" noted the timely and irrevocable disclosure of the next non-partisan section "and

voted for the organization of a powerful student-teaching propaganda landing in the military units of the city and the region”<sup>1</sup>.

In many universities, like in most other organizations and institutions all over the country, the party member heard the similar statements from the official-guarding point of view<sup>2</sup>. The “classic” comparison of G. Zhukov with another enemy L. Beria appeared<sup>3</sup>. The authorities lavishly soiled the talks about the mysterious organization of the “tyrant-General<sup>4</sup>”. The people willingly spoke about secret anti-communist schools created by former hero<sup>5</sup>. They even believed that G. Zhukov was training some kind of saboteurs there<sup>6</sup>. The educators of Cherkasy SPI accused marshal of trying to create “the blind army”. They recalled his beatings and dismissal of the officers without pensions<sup>7</sup>. Poltava lecturer S. Eliokums told that it was Zhukov’s fault that the country was not ready for the war with Germany in 1941. He served in a tank regiment, but there was only one “tank” there – in its name, “due to the fact that they were only studying how to operate, and tanks themselves were absent”, thus the whole regiment was transferred to the infantry<sup>8</sup>. Others, like Poltava SPI worker, soldier Ivan Halata, criticized “Bonapartist manners” of the former minister. He remembered: “He [Zhukov] treated the officers and commanders contemptuously. The fate of the officer depended on Zhukov’s mood. When he came to the army, the officers tried to be away from him”<sup>9</sup>. According to empirical studies, the presence in the teams of educators of those who promoted the idea of “incompetent Zhukov<sup>10</sup>” and who fueled it with the real and semi-real memories was decisive in shaping of the everyday image of G. Zhukov as a cult-maker in most educational groups<sup>11</sup>.

Independently there rose a question whether the Central Committee of the CPSU knew about shortcomings of Zhukov before the June Plenum of 1957, when he helped to eliminate Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov from the political arena. The party bosses answered to the college educators very traditionally: “Yes, but comrade Zhukov didn’t make the right conclusions and continued his line”<sup>12</sup>. We

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.4830, ark.48-52.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. P-15, op. 2, spr.1632, ark.104.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.5703, ark.36-37.

<sup>4</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.4487, 295 ark.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. P-244, op.1, spr.4490, 53 ark.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f. P-244, op.1, spr.4550, ark.29zv

<sup>7</sup> DACHO, f. P-2187, op.1, spr.23, ark.120-121.

<sup>8</sup> APNPU, f.2, op. Ye, Zh, Z, spr. Eliokums Zynoviy Saulovych, .28zv

<sup>9</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.5248, ark.33

<sup>10</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.2773, ark.9

<sup>11</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr.4487, 295 ark.

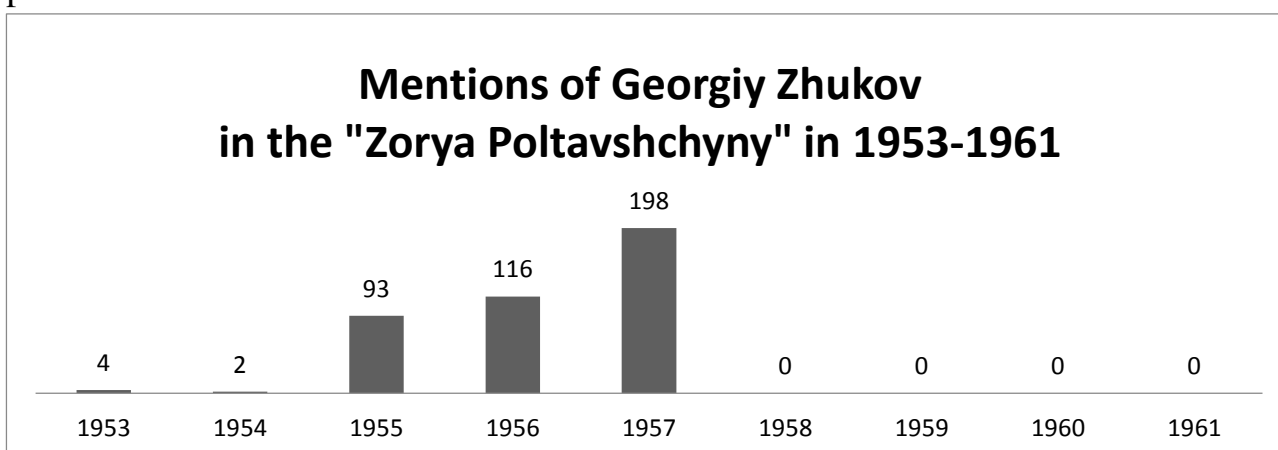
<sup>12</sup> DAPO, f. P-251, op.1, spr.4830, ark.48

need to say that later marshal himself, being under pressure, admitted, and remembering his expulsion from the party in 1946: “Then, my friends, I could not admit and I didn’t admit the correctness of those charges brought against me”<sup>1</sup>.

### A RESTRICTED MARSHAL

A new negative image of G. Zhukov was molded in the atmosphere of the information hunger during the nest years. Once proclaimed the traitor, he bore that stamp for a long time. The bar-chart of the mentions of Marshal G. Zhukov in regional press of Poltava region demonstrates how he appeared in complete information isolation after the rapid rise in 1955-1957. It was easy to accomplish because he was not only removed from the post of minister but also banned from attending the assemblies and meetings of any level. Thus the public person was put onto the information blockade. For example, he wasn’t let even to the festive gatherings dedicated to the Soviet Army and the Navy under the explanation... of the absence of his name in the list of the invited<sup>2</sup>.the aim was to vanish Zhukov from the mass media.

The casual saturation of educators with the information on G. Zhukov through the press and news chronicle was stopped. The only source of replenishment of the “restricted data” on Marshal Zhukov’s question were the stories told by the educators who knew marshal directly. But their stories, as we can judge from the archival sources, helped to perpetuate the opinion about the correctness of the Zhukov’s political subversion.



Bar chart 6.1.

<sup>1</sup> “Rishennya velycheznoyi vazhlyvosti”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 5, 1957, no.220, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pribytkov, Viktor. *Apparat* (Sankt-Peterburg: VNS, 1995), 111.

We see that after 1957 “purge”, the name of Zhukov disappeared from the newspapers. And that makes us agree with the thought of Merle Fainsod who said that Khrushchev’s return to the problem of G. Zhukov at the XXII Congress in 1961 just worked to eliminate any past, present or future opposition<sup>1</sup>. It really didn’t influence the everyday political consciousness of educators at all. For more than 4 years “Zhukov’s story” was like a quiet bog without any splash of information. We also need to say that there were no traces the “revisions” of the past similar to the actions that took place after Beria’s downfall when teachers crossed his name out of their previous lectures, articles and even colored his face in the newspapers. The documents of Hlukhiv<sup>2</sup>, Cherkasy<sup>3</sup>, Kharkiv<sup>4</sup>, Poltava, Sumy<sup>5</sup> and Uman SPIs<sup>6</sup> bear no signs of such revisions. However, we found the examples of such deeds in some non-pedagogical educational establishments (for example, in Poltava Agricultural Institute<sup>7</sup>).

When in the early 1960’s the party returned to the critics of G. Zhukov, they used the accusations once tried by the late Generalissimos Stalin when he wanted to shake the position of his marshal. These were the “sins” of tactical shortcomings and arrogance. At least in 1964 this list of Zhukov’s faults was an “official explanation” of his absence in the political life of the country for the teachers<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, that “accusatory roster” was not new for Soviet citizens. Back in 1957, when Zhukov helped to overthrow Malenkov, all these claims were explained as false ones<sup>9</sup>. But the teachers perceived the recovery of charges against their Victory Marshal quite easily. The graduate of Poltava SPI Larysa Rubanovska proudly remarked: “It is known to me that Comrade Zhukov exceeded his authority and repeatedly was corrected by the CC of the CPSU already since 1946”<sup>10</sup>. That easiness with which the teachers switched their orients under the wind of political changes made the transfer of glorious image of G. Zhukov to the picture of “new-born Napoleon” very light.

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<sup>1</sup> Fainsod, Merle. “The Twenty-second party Congress”, in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 138-139.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f. R-5369, op.1, spr.224, 77 ark.

<sup>3</sup> DACHO, f. R-2187, op.1, spr.23, ark.6.

<sup>4</sup> DAKhO, f.R-1780, op.3, spr.526, ark.165.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.225, 262 ark.

<sup>6</sup> DACHO, f.P-2087, op.1, spr.26, ark.11.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3567, ark.52

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3901, ark.10.

<sup>9</sup> Pribytkov, Viktor. *Apparat* (Sankt-Peterburg: VNS, 1995), 111.

<sup>10</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3925, ark.24.

From December of 1957 to December of 1964, the authorities began an undeclared information blockade of marshal's figure personality. His image in the everyday consciousness of SPI collectives changed only under the influence of ideals and beliefs generated at the Institutes themselves but not with the help of the State. The most important instrument of influence were lectures on the history of World War II. However, if between April and June of 1957, they read them focusing on outstanding military genius of Zhukov<sup>1</sup>, from 1958, the situation changed. For example, in 1959, Poltava educator Mykola Rizun in his speeches to the youth placed the responsibility for the War losses of the Soviet Union not only on Stalin (as was common since 1956), but also on G. Zhukov as on a Chief of the General Staff<sup>2</sup>.

The analysis of the available material suggests that the shaping of the views of educators on Zhukov in the late years of de-Stalinization continued only with the help of educators' own ideas without help of the State propaganda. It is therefore not surprising that in 1965 the authorities started the "rehabilitation" of their victorious Marshal in everyday consciousness of citizens. And they threw quite influential ideological means to make Zhukov a Hero again using films such as "The Great Patriotic War<sup>3</sup>" directed by I. Venzher or "The defeat of the German fascist troops near Moscow<sup>4</sup>" directed by L. Varlamov in 1965 so Zhukov could appear on the parade of 1965 Victory Day in his former image of honor<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Yanvar' 1956 goda. No.50 (Director: Babushkin Ya.,1956).

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-1507, op.1, spr.681, ark.214.

<sup>3</sup> Velikaya Otechestvennaya. (Director: Venzher I., Karmen R., Syetkina I., 1965).

<sup>4</sup> Razgrom nemetsko-fashytskikh voysk pod Moskvoy. (Director: Varlamov L., Katanyan V., 1965).

<sup>5</sup> "Soviet Rally Hails Stalin ; Zhukov Emerges in Honor; Rally at Kremlin Hails Stalin; Zhukov Emerges to Applause", *The New York Times*, May 09, 1965, 1.

7

**Stalin:**

**The Fallen Idol**

**INTRODUCTION**

De-Stalinization in the totalitarian USSR in the narrowest sense is interpreted as a fight against Stalin's personality cult that influenced the conduct of both internal and external policy of the state and reflected in the everyday of ordinary people as well as in the lives of the powerful ones. In this chapter we resort to describe how the everyday attitude of the educators of the Ukrainian SSR to the figure of Stalin changed. Attention is brought not so much to the real Stalin as to his image. He was known as a politician of a strong will from the early political career. Sometimes he was even satirically named Uncle Joe<sup>1</sup>. From the other hand, we know him as the bloodiest tyrants of the XX century. But, as the Ukrainian scientist Stanislav Kulchytskyi mentioned, he didn't think that the concept of "Stalinism" is quite adequate to the reality. He was sure that the back of Stalin was not so wide that it could hide all that was done in his time<sup>2</sup>. So here we discuss something else than Stalin's real sins – the mental picture of the dictator created by the minds of the ordinary people under the circumstances of the liberal changes in the State. As how historian Sean Guillory noted, this was rather a psycho-history phenomenon and Stalin influence the course of events in the country long after his death<sup>3</sup>.

**THE GODLIKE RULER**

One of the wheels of the Soviet ideological machine was a militant atheism. In the first years of the "red power" it pushed the Orthodox nation into actions after which the one, according to previous official-religious representations, should expect

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<sup>1</sup> Schwartz, Harry. "Introduction" in *Ebon, M. Malenkov: Stalin's Successor* (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1953) xi.

<sup>2</sup> Kul'chyts'kyy, S.V. "XX z'yizd KPRS – perelomnyy punkt v istoriyi radyans'koho komunizmu", in *Ukrayins'kyy istorychnyy zhurnal*, 2006, no.2, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Guillory, Sean. *Stalin and Stalinism: Course Programme* (Northern Illinois University, 2011), 6.

only the eternal flame of Heaven of Fiery. However, while they were holding horses and stored fodder grain in the closed temples, on the sites of former cemeteries arranging parks and discos, religiosity was not displaced from the consciousness of ordinary citizens. Even the representatives of the highest ranks didn't lose it as well. However, the real difference was that some people kept their forefathers' beliefs. And the ruling top did not bother to use the methods of religious cults in building "the most progressive society in the world". The original Ukrainian folk wisdom says: "The holy place can't be empty for long" (the West was little bit more materialistic in that saying that "Nature abhors a vacuum"). Therefore, I think that Slavonic religious shade of that proverb fits the best in describing of what happened to God's place in the country of the Soviets. What did the faith of the average population into an omnipotent Creator grow in within the twentieth century? How firm and immovable were the positions of those who then "took their place" at the "the right-hand of the King of Heaven", or even took His place? When looking for answers to these questions, you come to the point of the "overthrow of the idols" of Stalinist era. It was started by the first among equal, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, who did the similar to what, according to legend, had done prince of Kievan Rus Volodymyr the Great with the pagan gods of ancient Slavs. Struggle against the cult of Stalin, as part of the intricate and controversial process of de-Stalinization, closely intertwines with the problem of state influence onto the political consciousness of ordinary citizens. And party bosses were not shy to use any purely religious methods in this: from canonization to anathema.

One of the Soviet anecdotes of that era tells how archaeologists of the fourth millennium found an ancient manuscript and deciphered the epic inscription: "Nikita had been fighting with the corpse for three years, three months and three days, and the cursed corpse won"<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, only time was able to show who and with what efforts won in that ideological combat of "father of all nations" and his successor. However, the reason for such a struggle was that it was held not with a real Stalin but with some "transcendent essence" that modern-day astrologers and esotericists could call "an informational aggregory". And will simply understand it as an image of the politician. Let's look at the features of the newly-born God, who had ruled on the 1/3 of land within the 20th century and invisibly solemnly directed it until the February days of 1956.

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<sup>1</sup> Politicheskije anekdoty. Anekdoty pro Stalina. Anekdoty o kul'te lichnosti i yego razvenchani. URL: <http://politic-anekdot.com/anekdoti-pro-stalina/anekdoti-o-kulte-lichnosti-i-ego-ra.php>



– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

In order to create a sketchy picture of Stalin's status in the minds of the population, it is enough to resort to the analysis of periodicals only in the early 1953 – the year of the last months of the rule of Communist idol. Even those fifty something days that Joseph Vissarionovich spent in 1953 help to understand the extent of the campaign of canonization of the leader of the USSR.

First of all, let's correlate the two "Olympian gods" who shared power over people's minds for decades – Lenin and Stalin. By the early 1950s, the situation was alike the antique story and we resort to that parallels with the ancient Greek mythology. The father of the revolution in his characteristics was approaching the celestial god Uranus. He was the founder of a mighty dynasty of "Communist titans and gods" (party leaders) who were ruling a divided fiefdom under the leadership of the powerful Titan Kronos (Stalin). Lenin's place is the corner of the initiator, the creator, at the time of the rule of which mankind was experiencing the Golden Age, lost later. But the successor of his glory – the son and the heir – keeps the canons proposed by his father. His reign too deserves to wear the name of the leader: the day of Kronos (read – Stalin), becoming the symbol of lost times of prosperity as well. The periodical gives us an idea that the leader of the USSR had the same privileges as the ancient titan: "There is no greater happiness than living and working in the Stalin's era, living and working together with the great Stalin<sup>1</sup>" – said the first article published in the year 1953.



*Picture 7.1. Poster "In the name of Communism" in which Stalin and Lenin were shown as a two fathers of nation – equal titans of thought*

<sup>1</sup> "Pid praporom partiyi Lenina-Stalina", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 1, 1953, no.1, 1.

As the “true titan”, Stalin displaced his father from the dominant position, as the old Greek Cronus did in his time. The reminder of the once majestic and mighty Uranus was that he was the Heaven - something unattainable and eternal. But the references to him were necessarily related to what happened under his holy face – with the affairs of the great Kronos. The same fate met Vladimir Lenin in the Soviet Stalin era. He died, preserving the status of the classic and the initiator. We believe that the fact of the pompous celebration of the Day of the death of Vladimir Ulyanov but not so much his birthday was to increase the difference in definitions: old god has died, praise the living deity. It only underlined the importance of a new leader of “the oppressed peoples” in power, casting the shadow onto the achievements of the previous genius. Mentions of Lenin in press and propaganda materials were necessarily accompanied by the mentions of the name of his “brilliant follower”. Even on the day of the celebration of the 29th anniversary of the death of Ulyanov-Lenin, the Poltava regional press published the next motto on its first page: “Long live a brilliant follower of Lenin’s immortal craft, a great leader and a teacher of working people, Comrade STALIN”<sup>1</sup>. And the solemn mourning session at the Bolshoi Theater of the USSR ended in a “rescuer in honor of... a wise leader” Joseph Vissarionovich, as if saying: “The era of the old gods has passed: even remembering them, bring gifts to those holding the world on their shoulders now”<sup>2</sup>.

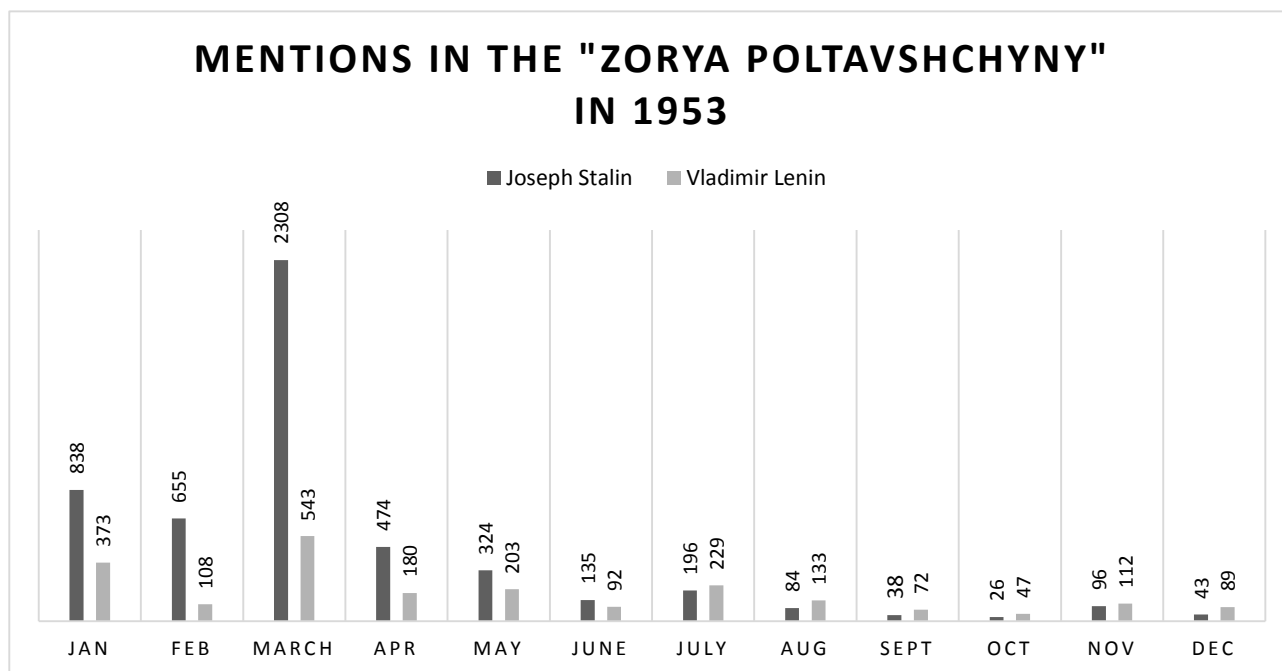
The understatement of the role of Vladimir Lenin in the 1950s and his “foreground position” of the classics of Marxism-Leninism are noticeable after a deeper analysis of periodicals.



*Picture 7.2. Poster with Stalin’s words saying “The spirit of the great Lenin and his victorious flag inspire us now for the patriotic War”. The living god was blessing the masses to die in the name of the country in front of his “holt spiritual father” present only as a Spirit in the world of Communism*

<sup>1</sup> *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 21, 1953, no.15.

<sup>2</sup> “XXIX rokovyny z dnya smerti Volodymyra Illicha Lenina – traurne zasidannya u Velykomu teatri SRSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 22, 1953, no.16, 1.



*Bar chart 7.1*

The presented histogram clearly demonstrates the dynamics of the mentions of the names of the two leaders in the central periodical edition of the Poltava region. In their “best” times, the ratio between Stalin and Lenin equaled 6 to 1 in favor of a “brilliant follower”. In the beginning of 1953 (in the last months of Stalin’s life) he was mentioned on average 76 times per issue. If we take into account the fact that the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” was published daily, it is an impressive figure. However, with the death of the “leader of the peoples” the story repeated itself once again. As in the myths be Hesiod, after the overthrow of the power of Kronos, his children, the Olympian gods, tried to recall as little as possible about the “golden rule” of their father”, the followers of Joseph Vissarionovich turned to the establishment of their “historical justice” as well. By the end of 1953, the balance between mentions of Lenin and Stalin changed and became 2 to 1 in favor of Ulyanov-Lenin (89 vs. 49 names in press).

However, even under these conditions, the “burden of holiness”, received by Stalin, prevailed. Stalin rose in the memory of the readers not only being referred by name. The press used the name of CPSU as “the party of Lenin-Stalin”, all the things mentioned in the papers with the notion of “Stalin’s”, and they use of the name “leader”, which completely identified only Joseph Dzhugashvili. He was also promoted in posters published in the newspaper and even in the lists of Marxists literature and the collections of book written by the late dictator.

**Mentions of Stalin in the "Zorya Poltavshchyny" in 1953**

	Jan	Feb	March	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
<b>Joseph Stalin</b>	838	655	2308	474	324	135	196	84	38	26	96	43	5217
<b>Stalin's / Stalinist leader ('vozhd')</b>	135	82	105	68	29	19	24	24	19	12	8	42	567
<b>the party of Lenin-Stalin</b>	7	7	59	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	82
<b>Stalin in literature</b>	57	46	61	19	29	4	1	4	0	0	0	0	221
<b>Pictures of Stalin</b>	8	3	34	14	12	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	77
	1	4	12	1	3	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	26
	1046	797	2579	582	400	160	223	112	58	39	109	85	6190

*Table 7.1*

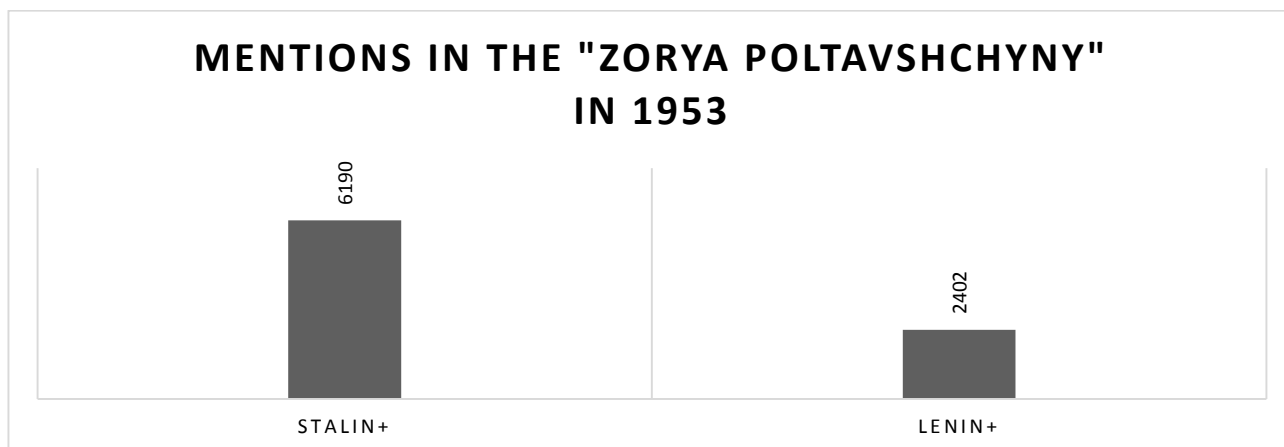
Therefore, Vladimir Lenin's share in this ideological flow was much smaller. Even if we add to the direct mentions of the philosopher the alternative name of the CPSU – the Party of Lenin-Stalin.

**Mentions of Lenin in the "Zorya Poltavshchyny" in 1953**

	Jan	Feb	March	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
<b>Vladimir Lenin</b>	373	108	543	180	203	92	229	133	72	47	112	89	2181
<b>party of Lenin-Stalin</b>	57	46	61	19	29	4	1	4	0	0	0	0	221
	430	154	604	199	232	96	230	137	72	47	112	89	2402

*Table 7.2*

If we put together all references to Stalin's name, then it turns out that in fact, for 1953, Lenin had no chance to overcome his "genius heir" (6190 references to Stalin, 2402 references to Lenin).



*Bar chart 7.2*

Joseph Stalin was steadily portrayed as an ideological heir to his genius predecessor. And neither regular propagandists nor freelance ones – the writers and poets – were not tired to remind about it:

*“Із профілем Леніна прапор  
У Сталінських сяє руках.  
Під прапором цим променистим  
В Комуни торуємо шлях!”*

*“A flag with Lenin’s profile  
Is shining in Stalin’s hands.  
Under this radiant flag,  
We go down into the Commune!”<sup>1</sup>*



The shade of Stalin was shed over Lenin’s memory even by the documents of the Ministry of Education. Its directive No.8-08 from January 16, 1953 set the framework of the celebration of the 29th anniversary of the death of the “great genius of mankind” Vladimir Lenin. The authorities strongly recommended organizing exhibitions of photographs, visits to the cinemas, and lectures on the next topics: “The Great Friendship of Lenin and

*Picture 7.3. Poster “Under the banner of Lenin, under the leadership of Stalin ahead to the victory of Communism!”, 1948. Stalin and Lenin are like Spiritual Father and Son of the Soviet State.*

<sup>1</sup> Tokombayev, Ali. “Prapor partiyi”, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, January 1, 1953, no.1, 2.

Stalin”, “Lenin and Stalin - the Creators of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist State” or “29 years without Lenin under the leadership of the comrade Stalin – along Leninist way<sup>1</sup>”. It’s not hard to guess where the educators should place the accents.

### THE CREATOR OF THE SOVIET WORLD



*Picture 7.4. Poster “Let our Motherland live and blossom!”. Stalin in white coat is depicted as if a god with the Soviet Eden on the background*

Among the main functions of the divine substance, there is always a function of the creator of the world, his connection with the outside world. Probably, it will not be too loud to define the role of Stalin at the end of his long-term rule in 1953 as a demiurge. The population felt and understood him as one by whose own will was able to destroy the old way of things and to create new landscapes. The press was working daily over the construction of this image of the “Soviet Creator” in a deeply atheistic country, persuading the people of the Soviet Union that “the great gardener Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin was growing in the garden of [the socialist homeland] the kind people unknown in the history yet<sup>2</sup>.” Aura of the divinity of the supreme leader of the country with the subordination of the environment to his will conquers the pages not only of the propaganda literature. The belief that changes in

nature go along with the desires and whims of Stalin gradually transforms into the fiction literature. Thus, the Kremenchuk poet of the mid-1950’s Yaroslav Vecherenko wrote:

*“Де лютував лиш суховій –  
Стени в убранні там зеленим.  
Це риси нового живі,  
Це – Сталіна невтомний геній”*

*“Where only dry wind was raging,  
There are the steps in the green  
dressing.  
These are the live features of the new,  
This is Stalin’s tireless genius<sup>3</sup>.”*

<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.169, ark. 3-4 (79 ark.)

<sup>2</sup> Lopatina, V. “Tvortsi dostatku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 1, 1953, no.1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Vecherenko, Yaroslav. “Spasybi, partiye, tobi!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 24, 1953, no.17, 3.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

An analysis of the periodicals and archival documents leaves no doubt that the ideology formed the only correct understanding of the process of nature development: it becomes raw material for transformation. Of course, with the prevalence of understanding that

*“І гори, й пустелі безводні  
Розквітли по волі Вождя”*

*“...and mountains, and waterless deserts  
Dazzled by the will of the Leader”<sup>1</sup>*

But not because of the efforts of other people or through the natural processes of world development.

One should not reject the direct influence of Stalin on the replacement of the ecosystems of the Soviet Union. We need to mention here his grand plan for the transformation of nature, the effects of which are still felt by the citizens of many CIS countries to this day. However, living in the post-soviet Nature, we do rarely think about the fact that half a century ago, the process of turning the flow of the rivers backwards was subordinated to the sacralization of the figure of the state leader. In fact, Stalin replaced God Creator of the Orthodox Russia, whose wishes made rains fall, rivers flood, and gardens appear on the site of the former deserts. There is even an approach to pantheism “dissolving” the will and thought of Stalin in the environment. His dreams were moving the spring closer, his thoughts made the sun go down. He was even indirectly present in the process of the birth of the relationship between two lovers who:

*“читали вдвох про п’ятирічку  
І мудрі Сталіна слова.  
І задивлялися на річку –  
Вже працювала ГЕС нова”.*

*“were reading together about the five-year plan  
And Stalin’s wise words.  
And they were looking at the river –  
The new hydroelectric plant was already working<sup>2</sup>”*

The inseparable nature of Stalin’s image with Nature, whose face he changed by laying down hydroelectric plants, factories and collective farms during his reign, spilled even in mournful lines about the death of the head of the USSR:

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<sup>1</sup> Maslo, Mykhaylo. “Budynok v Hori”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 24, 1953, no.17, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Yurchenko, Oles’. “Ranok nad Vorskloyu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 29, 1953, no.65, 3..

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

*“Плач, земле, плач! Ридайте, ниви й води!      “Cry, earth, cry! Cry, fields and waters!  
Всі чесні голови, схиліться, як одна!      All honest heads, bow down as if one!  
Народи всі! Радянський мій народі!      All peoples! My Soviet people!  
Труна розкрилася – Великого труна!<sup>1</sup>”      The Coffin’s opened – The Great One’s Coffin!”*

Even taking into account the part of artistic creativity, the need to use comparisons and metaphors, we must note that the belief in the mourning situation in the Nature about Stalin’s death took place among the population. This, in particular, confirms the memoirs of eyewitnesses of those events from the city of Poltava, for whom snowfall was a testimony to the sorrow of Sky for the loss of the leader of the Soviet people<sup>2</sup>.

Prayer as one of the sources of communication with the Supreme Forces was inherent to the understanding of the Soviet hero Stalin as well. It is worth only reading two lines of one of the poems in order to find a known analogue:

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*“Слово Сталіна між нами,  
Воля Сталіна між нас”.*

*“Stalin’s word is between us  
Stalin’s will is between us<sup>3</sup>”.*

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*Picture 7.5. Poster “Beloved Stalin is the national happiness!”, 1950. Even the figure of the leader, his life and just biological existence are proclaimed one of the main sources of happiness in the totalitarian state.*

After this, it’s not hard to add some lines in order to complete the composition: “Let thy name be holy, let thy will be done”. The list of honorable names of Stalin we can include more than 60 words and phrases that were met in the press for just 2 months of 1953. We are confident that the in-depth study will allow us to speak about its approach to the 99 names of Allah in the Qur’an. Among them are “the great one”, “ingenious”, “great gardener”,

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<sup>1</sup> Ryl’s’kyy, Maksym. “Prysyaha”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 8, 1953, no.49, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Herashchenko Lyudmyly Oleksiyivny, 2 ark.

<sup>3</sup> “Pid praporom partiyi Lenina-Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 1, 1953, no.1, 1.



– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –



*Picture 7.6. Photo of the 97-year old Communist from Poltava who came to vote “for Stalin, for happiness of the people” in winter of 1953. The ballot box is decorated with the bust of Stalin. No agitation in the day of voting? Not in the USSR.*



*Picture 7.7. Photo of the students of Poltava voting for Stalin in winter of 1953 with a enormous leader’s portrait at the poll \_ The Soviet democrace in action*

“the wisest”, “father”, “teacher”, “friend of the people”, “the patron of peace”, “the architect”, “the coryphaeus”, “the creator of happiness”, “the protector and source of inspiration”... The quote from the composition of one Poltava students says enough about it: “Stalin is our Sun”<sup>1</sup>.

The presence of the dictator-demiurge was mentioned even in the secret procedure of voting. The people left the inscriptions on election ballots – the fact that according to modern election legislation allows them to be declared invalid. While calculating them after the election, the commissions proudly reported to the press about the texts written on them. They usually bore standard phrases typical of the stagnant level of political consciousness at that time. In these inscriptions, Stalin was considered inseparable from the people, he was not conceived separately from the happiness of the folk or peace on Earth: “For the happiness of the peoples, for the great leader!”, “Vote for Stalin, for the Soviet people!”<sup>2</sup> Even the visual art convinced people in the need to support their “Father”. At least people of different ages and of all professions did so. As an example, the press showed the picture of a non-party 90-year-old doctor Mykola Darhanov voting “for the era of Stalin” with the bust of the tyrant as a watcher over “the most democratic process”. Another photo demonstrated the corridor of Poltava SPI where the second year students

<sup>1</sup> Hayota, L. “Stalin – nashe Sontse”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 20, 1953, no.14, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bezman, H. “Lyubov narodna”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 25, 1953, no.40, 1.

also did their choice to vote for an invincible Stalinist block. Once again the secrecy of the vote meant nothing in comparison to the unity of love to the leader.

### THE ETERNAL ONE

Let's correlate the characteristics of Stalin, which he endowed from the ideologues and human imagination and which he planted in the minds with the knowledge of the religiosity of that state as a former student of the Tiflis Seminary. According to contemporary dominant theological notions of Christianity, God has significant attributes as the Supreme and Absolute Personality. Based on their list, perhaps we will understand that the only thing that distinguished Stalin and the Christian Creator is the time of appearance in the minds of the population. Consequently, the very first are the natural (the absolute) qualities of God.

According to the Revelation of John the Theologian, "He is Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the First and the Last" (Revelation 22:13). It was hard to doubt the primacy and inevitability of Stalin's power in the totalitarian country during his life. When the news of the death of the "Light Of The World" burst out, the masses appealed to the means proven by time and practice of Christianity: to give immortality to the late hero by their own faith. In many verses of the March days of 1953 we trace the same intonation and themes:

*"Хіба помер Ілліч? – Йому не буде смерті.  
Він переміг собою небуття.  
Так хто ж повірить в те,  
що Сталін може вмерти?  
Для нас він – Ленін був, ім'я його – життя!"*

*"Did Ilyich die? – He will not die.  
He defeated a non-existence.  
So who will believe  
that Stalin may die?  
For us, he was Lenin, his name is life!<sup>1</sup>"*

Like the Christian God, the leader appears to have always been and will always exist. He is imperishable, because he is the source of life and is the life itself. And it seems that the first Epistle to Timothy, claiming "Now to the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever" (1 Tim. 1:17) concerned not so much Sabaotth "overthrown" by the militant Soviet atheists as the Georgian leader who had to live forever since 1879. There is a strange transition – penetration, dissolution – of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in his own people: "The heart of Stalin will be beating for

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<sup>1</sup> Shut'ko, Yakiv. "V tsey skorbotnyy chas", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 9, 1953, no.50, 3.

centuries in the hearts of millions of working people”<sup>1</sup>. Here he comes into conflict with time: the eternity has neither beginning nor end for him. Like the Old Testament God, they asserted about Stalin, despite the venerable age: “But thou art always the selfsame, and thy years shall not fail” (Psalm 101:28) – “... our dear Stalin will live as long as the sun will shine upon us – for our happiness and joy”<sup>2</sup>. It seems that when ordinary people experienced past, present and future, for Stalin, everything happened only in the present time. The May holidays of 1953 once again convinced: the masses still lived by the old good religious ideals:

*“У кожнім кроці нашої весни  
Ми Сталіна безсмертя відчуваєм”*

*“In every step of our spring,  
We feel Stalin’s immortality”<sup>3</sup>*



*Picture 7.8. Poster “Stalin takes care of each of us from the Kremlin” 1940*

### **THE OMNIPRESENT ONE**

The Old Testament gives a vivid representation of the omnipresence of the Creator, Who fills the entire Universe remaining Himself, not dissolving in nature and in the World: “If I rise on the wings of the dawn, if I settle on the far side of the sea, even there Your hand will guide me, Your right hand will hold me fast”. (Psalm 138: 9-10). A similar lack of boundaries in space and time was characteristic of Joseph Vissarionovich even after his death:

*“І ми не вірим, що сьогодні  
Нема найближчого між нас...  
Вночі хтось бачив: на заводі  
Він над верстатами схилився,  
В степу за дальнім полустанком  
Обходив траси на зорі,  
Всміхавсь і кликав спозаранку  
На риштування мулярів”.*

*“And we do not believe that today  
There is no the closest one between us...  
At night, someone saw: at the factory,  
He leaned over the machine tools,  
In the steppe on the far side,  
He walked around the highway at dawn,  
Smiling and calling early in the morning  
Masons to climb the scaffolding...”<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> “Sertse Stalina bude vikamy bytysya v sertsyakh mil’yoniv trudyashchykh”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 10, 1953, no.51, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Hayota, L. “Stalin – nashe Sontse”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 20, 1953, no.14, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Strashko, Andriy. “Vesna myru”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 4, 1953, no.88, 3.

Such “super-natured” characteristics helped the leader to be ubiquitous, and at the same time, be quite close to men. Already in 1956, when the permission to call things by their real names came along with the frustration of the holiness of the “leader of the peoples”, Poltava educators stated: “historians and writers attributed Stalin the features of the supreme person who sees everything and wins everywhere”<sup>2</sup>. Similar descriptions approximate him to the Old Testament images: “The eyes of the Lord are everywhere, keeping watch on the wicked and the good” (Proverbs 15: 3) – the same thought was said by the Poltavite Yevhen Zolotarenko: “Everything was seen by our Great Leader; He helped and taught us everywhere”<sup>3</sup>.



Picture 7.9. Poster “Glory to the great Stalin – the architect of communism!” 1952

### THE ALLMIGHTY ONE

Nothing in the world can withstand the divine power: “I know that You can do all things; no purpose of Yours can be thwarted” (Job 42: 2). The population was imbued with the idea that ordinary people cannot resist, contradict or reverse the unlimited power of “the Creator of Soviet industrialization”. It is in his will to fulfill everyone’s ideas:

*“Він промовля...*

*Значить, збудеться скоро*

*Все, що задумано нами учора”.*

*“He’s saying ...*

*So it will come true soon*

*Everything that is conceived by us yesterday<sup>4</sup>”*

<sup>1</sup> Dudnyts'kyu, Pavlo. “Vin z namy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 29, 1953, no.65, 3.

<sup>2</sup> ДАРО, ф.Р-244, оп.1, spr.3747, ark.53.

<sup>3</sup> Zolotarenko, Yevhen. “Nezabutniy uchytel' i druh”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 13, 1953, no.53, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Kondrya, Kostyantyn. “Hovoryt' Stalin”, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, January 15, 1953, no.3, 2.



Picture 7.10. Poster “There were no such women and could not be in the old days!” 1950. Even feminist movement in the country bore Stalin’s face.

He can do everything, but does only what really should happen: “*The hand of great Stalin directs the course of world history ...*”<sup>1</sup> From such citations it is clear that Stalin’s omnipotence was considered to be confined only by his own will.

### THE OMNISCIENT ONE

As the newly proclaimed god, Joseph Dzhugashvili had the perfect knowledge. He should have known everything about everything. From his memory holding the past, the present and the future, it seems, nothing could disappear, because “There is no deep shadow, no utter darkness, where evildoers can hide” (Job 34:22) – or, as the Soviets said, “Each year, more and more, Stalin’s ingenious predictions come true”<sup>2</sup>. It

seems that it is difficult for a simple mortal Soviet citizen to understand how a leader is predicting events that depend on the will of many people. Therefore, it is not surprising that they needed his help and interpretation as believers await Providence in explaining how “How unsearchable his judgments, and his paths beyond tracing out!” (Romans 11:33). And people got them in the regular thesis by Stalin, which inevitably became classical, in every speech that was immediately printed in the numbers of copies that the contemporary best-selling writers can be jealous of, because people really believed that they were “managed by the wisest man on Earth, Father and Teacher...”<sup>3</sup>

Stalin seemed to know the right way of moving forward even from the outer world. Being already mummified, he was present in the pre-holiday calls of the Central Committee for May Day of 1953, still leading the country under the banner of Lenin-Stalin to the victory of Communism<sup>4</sup>. And the periodical press carried to

<sup>1</sup> “Pid praporom partiyi Lenina-Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Januzry 1, 1953, no.1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Pid praporom partiyi Lenina-Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Januzry 1, 1953, no.1, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Herasymenko, N. “Ridniy Vitchyzni”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 1, 1953, no.1, 3.

<sup>4</sup> “Zaklyky Tsentral’noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu do 1 Travnya 1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 22, 1953, no.81, 1.

the masses a messianic image of Stalin that, like a biblical prophet, instructed followers:

“Ой, піду я з вами по усіх народах – *“Oh, I will go with you to all peoples –*  
До казах, киргизів, ще й до вірмен – *To Kazah, Kyrgyz, and even to Armenians –*  
Я проїзди знаю, знаю всі проходи, *I know the roads, I know all passages*  
Ще і мову знаю – до усіх племен” *I even know the language to all the tribes<sup>1</sup>”.*



*Picture 7.11. Poster “On the joyous day of liberation from the oppression of the German invaders, the first words of unlimited gratitude and love of the Soviet people are directed to our friend and father, Comrade STALINA ...” 1943. Stalin’ sportrait occupies the place of the icon in the huts of peasants*

The characters of the state leader as described are the most striking components of the de-Stalinization process in its interpretation as the struggle against the cult of Joseph Stalin. They easily fit the “Principle of Fuhrer” as suggested by Lowenthal Richard<sup>2</sup> who was once looking for the mutual influence of two tyrants of the twentieth century.

The second subgroup of the characteristics of the divine essence refers to the moral qualities of the “Soviet God”.

## THE HOLIEST ONE

According to the theological interpretations, holiness is the sum of all the perfect qualities of God. He must be completely free of dirt, worthy of imitation by each of the faithful. The perfect qualities of Joseph Vissarionovich, propagated by the

<sup>1</sup> Lytvak, H. “Sontse narodiv (obraz Volodymyra Illicha Lenina u tvorchosti narodiv SRSR)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 22, 1953, no.81, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lowenthal, Richard. “The logic of one-party rule” in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism* [Edited by Abraham Brumberg] (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 31.

periodical press and numerous works of art, were so fruitful that, one could joke; his portraits were saved from miracles only by the fact that the country lived out of faith. And the presence of perfect features always causes imitation. In the first Epistle of Peter it is said: “But just as he who called you is holy, so be holy in all you do; for it is written: “Be holy, because I am holy” (1 Peter 1: 15-16). Stalin was a model for imitation, father and mother at the same time. As Poltava teachers recalled, “for three decades, considered him to be the closest and the native one...”<sup>1</sup> The appeals to be like Stalin in the thoughts and affairs eventually resulted in the fact that even after the death of the leader the approach to such a “standard of Stalin” did not stop: “... to be like Stalin – ... this is the patriotic duty of every Soviet man”, a Poltava girl Lyudmyla Repalo wrote in her graduation composition work in June of 1953<sup>2</sup>.

### THE MOST RIGHTEOUS ONE

God in religious beliefs is always right and always does righteousness: “He is the Rock, His works are perfect, and all His ways are just. A faithful God Who does no wrong, upright and just is He.” (Deuteronomy 32: 4). These features were overtaken from the Orthodox Creator by the former seminarian Dzhugashvili when he reached the highest position in the Soviet state. He acted as a constant example of righteousness, which manifested itself in the laws adopted under his control. Not surprisingly, after scattering a person’s cult in 1956, many Communists frankly said that “after this incident no-one can be believed”, because the highest trust credit was already given to a living god, scattered and sheltered by the XX Congress<sup>3</sup>. It depended on Stalin what destiny to “give” to the country: who to punish, whom to reward. His name was given to one of the most prestigious world prizes – the Stalin Prize of Peace.

Like the Absolute, he required people to obey his laws, bringing to the ideal of the embodiment the phrase “The State is Me” attributed to Louis XIV. In 1953, on the pages of the Poltava regional press, the following poetic lines by Mykola Netesa appeared in support of this thought:

*“Законом стало нам вождеве слово,  
І мисль вождя як сонце нам сія.*

*“The leader’s word’s become a law to us,  
The leader’s thought shines as the sun to us.*

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3945, ark. 6zv.

<sup>2</sup> Bezman, H. “Velyki pochuttya. Ekzamen u shkoli”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 5, 1953, no.110, 3.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-121, op.1, spr.1467, ark.44.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

*В палкім змаганні – в полі, на будові  
Ми несемо в серцях його ім'я.  
Немає щастя більшого на світі,  
Як вчитись в нього жити, перемагати,  
З вождєвих творів, мудрістю налитих,  
Напхнення й силу творчую черпати”.*

*In a fierce race – in the field, at the building –  
We carry his name in the hearts.  
There's no greater happiness in the world,  
Than to learn from him to live, to win,  
From the leader's works, filled with wisdom,  
To draw inspiration and creative power<sup>1</sup>”.*

And there was absolutely nothing wrong with the fact that exactly four years after, in 1957, when the campaign against the dead “god” Stalin had already been started, the same poem was re-published with some alterations. The “leader’s will” was turned into “a party word”, and the “leader’s works” were changed into “party’s predestinations”. Inventive editors changed only a few words in the work, and there was no room for Stalin’s righteousness and justice:

*“Законом стало нам партійне слово,  
І слово партії як сонце нам сія.  
В палкім змаганні – в полі, на будові  
Ми несемо в серцях її ім'я.  
Немає щастя більшого на світі,  
Як вчитись в неї жити, перемагати,  
З її накреслень, мудрістю налитих,  
Напхнення й силу творчую черпати”.*

*“The Party's word's become a law to us,  
The party's word shines as the sun to us.  
In a fierce race – in the field, at the building –  
We carry its name in the hearts.  
There's no greater happiness in the world,  
Than to learn from it to live, to win,  
From its predestinations, filled with wisdom,  
To draw inspiration and creative power<sup>2</sup>”.*

However, in 1953, he still was holding the title of a source of justice and socialist legality. Among the other divine characteristics inherent by the person of Joseph Vissarionovich, there was a loyalty to his promises, grace and mercy; patience and the Savior’s mission. Not in vain people said that “twice he freed us from bondage<sup>3</sup>”, as Christ liberated the whole world from the bondage of sin. The belief into “living deity” in an atheistic country reached even to the fact that the first words of a small child “were mom, dad and Stalin”<sup>4</sup>.

But among the population, zombie by propaganda and agitation, there were many bright heads that did not lose touch with reality. And they were not only in managerial positions. On the contrary, most of them stayed on the ground, as one of

<sup>1</sup> Netesa, Mykola. “Za Stalina ya holos viddayu!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, 22 February, 1953, no.38, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Netesa, Mykola. “Za partiyu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 3, 1957, no.44, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Bashtyk, Ulyana. “Bezmezna skorbota nasha”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 10, 1957, no.51, 2.

<sup>4</sup> ДАРО, ф.Р-244, оп.1, spr.4549, ark.36.



the collective farmers of Poltava region told the educators of the regional center: “Why should we bring Stalin to the status of king?”<sup>1</sup>

The whole complex of divine qualities did not help Stalin occupy a central place in the sacred corner of the Soviet-era home for a long time. As in the ancient myth, his own children rose against their “Eternal father”. And “Nikita-The-Thunderer”, like the ancient Zeus, easily deprived the “political father” of a halo of holiness and of power over the souls of people. And, like the ancient Greek Zeus, Nikita Khrushchev lived with constant fear to repeat the fate of his parent – to be thrown down by those whom he himself has grown up. Once again the story repeated itself, and the de-Stalinization was changed by “forced neo-Stalinization”. But this was an entirely different story in which clever politicians used the proven methods of manipulating human consciousness as skillfully as it was done the years before them.

### **EARLY 1953: EXALTING THE TEACHER**

The best way to see the change of the perception of the politician is to follow the traces of history in the periodicals day by day strengthening the conclusions with the archival sources. The accent is given to the mental manifestation and to the sources of the visual history that influenced the lives of educators. We also made the parallels with the reaction of other institutions of Ukraine onto Stalin’s downfall to see the specific and common patterns of attitude.

January of the new 1953 started under the star of the Messianic era of Joseph Stalin in the intellectual sphere as well. It was pretty common to hear the scientists calling the dictator “our Teacher<sup>2</sup>” as the director of the Poltava SPI Dmytro Nenenko did in front of the Academic council. However, that intellectual thirst of Stalin’s mind was rather the need of rough copying of Stalin’s statements once born from the fear to be oppressed. Time passed and it turned into the habit. To start one’s work with Stalin’s quote was as a magic spell for the academic success. That was widely promoted at the scientific councils and meetings of the departments. Thus, the lecturer of linguistics of Poltava SPI and the secretary of its Academic Council Kostyantyn Kuzmych “strongly recommended” to remember that each Soviet scientist was obliged to borrow (!) his conclusions from the “genius works” of Stalin<sup>3</sup>. And they did it almost triumphantly.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5276, ark.21.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 392, ark.13.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.382, ark.46zv.

Thus, the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism in Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov, listing some of his most important works for the last reporting year, named 5 (out of 9) devoted to Stalin<sup>1</sup>. Teachers continued the policy of ideological self hypnosis even in brief reviews of students' control works. These were the documents that, according to the logic of things, wouldn't have been seen outside the university. They looked like a small sheets of A5 tracing paper containing only up to 8 sentences of the commentary written long-hand. But even they became a real praising of Stalin's genius. Thus, even at the end of December of 1953, a teacher of History of the CPSU Ivan Popyk, commenting on the work of the second-year student Hryhoriy Parkhomchenko on the topic "The Bolshevik Party in the struggle for the collectivization of agriculture", managed to make 5 references to Stalin's works in the eight sentences with a proper pathetic commentary<sup>2</sup>. However, some didn't hide their frustration. For example Ivan Chyrko on behalf of the whole department of linguistics asked the rhetorical question: "It is not clear to us how to apply all of these materials in our work"<sup>3</sup>. According to Raymond Aron, the State deliberately restricts the educators in their intellectual activity, placing the framework of the worldview in order to prevent the Communist semi-religious doctrine from losing its force<sup>4</sup>.

The "intellectual dependence" on the totalitarian leader is strongly visible in the plans of the research work of pedagogical universities that took place in January. The analysis of the reporting documentation shows that from every 10 titles of papers on average 5-6 (and that is literally some more than half!) were related to the definition of the role of Comrade Stalin in an incredible range of issues: from geography and morphology<sup>5</sup> to the tasks of pedagogy<sup>6</sup>. Individual educational institutions even declared "scientific obligations" to Stalin in broadening their research work. That was, for example, in Poltava SPI where the lecturers somehow over fulfilled their previous science plans ... in honor of the XIX Party Congress and the publication of Stalin's book "Economic Problems in the USSR"<sup>7</sup>. There is no wonder that people considered Stalin's works to be the only source of truth when the radio proclaimed it daily. Thus, each of the eight

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<sup>1</sup> APNPU, f.2, op.S-2, spr. Stepanov Dmytro Vasylovych, ark.33.

<sup>2</sup> APNPU, f.1 (z/v), op.1956 (L-P), spr.2242. Parkhomenko Hryhoriy Nazarovych (1951-1956 pp.), ark.22.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.382, ark.41.

<sup>4</sup> Aron, Raymond. "Soviet Society in Transition" in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism [Edited by Abraham Brumberg]* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 549.

<sup>5</sup> DASO. f.R-5369, op.1, spr.166, ark.8, 16.

<sup>6</sup> DASO. f.R-5369, op.1, spr.158, ark.8.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4825, ark.8.

speakers of Poltava regional Radio had his own plan for propaganda of Stalin's works on the air throughout each month<sup>1</sup>.

The sacred attitude towards the "Teacher of all" is noticed by us while working with the mutual reviews of teaching staff. So, then the head of the Department of Ukrainian Literature in Sumy SPI, and later the director of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute, Mykhaylo Semyvolos was reviewing the cycles of lectures on linguistics in 1953. Each time he framed the references to the works of the "Coryphaeus of science" in indents that were as big as 3-4 intervals, while quotations from the works of the specialists in the field were lost in the solid text<sup>2</sup>.

In January of 1953, Comrade Stalin's name in a large number of variations appeared 1146 times in the regional periodicals "Zorya Poltavshchyny". That is on average 56 times per issue of the newspaper – 17% of all references in 1953, tens of times exceeding the references of other political figures of that days. The fact of holiness of the name alone is very important for depicting the attitude of pedagogical workers to Stalin. Thus, even the first sentences of the proposals for the further development of higher education in the new five-year plan was ... the undisguised admiration for the location of the building of the Sumy SPI in the street that was proudly bearing the name of Stalin<sup>3</sup>. This fact once again speaks of the authenticity of the "messianic age" of Joseph Vissarionovich in the public consciousness.

We should also note that the image of "all-good" and "omnipotent" ruler was created by the awarding of the honorary Stalin's nominal scholarships – the highest in the Union<sup>4</sup>.

The students, bred on the truth about leader's genius, even could afford themselves to criticize their lecturers for not providing the educational process with the works of the coryphaeus of science. So, Ivan Dubyna from Poltava failed to find the satisfactory amount of literature in the list recommended by the sub-department of Pedagogy that "allowed him to gain solid and profound knowledge"<sup>5</sup>. We should mention that the young teachers already had too much Stalin in their studying. For example, his latest "elaborate essay" on the economic problems of socialism in the USSR, was precisely observed by them at the additional course during the examination winter session of 1952-1953 academic

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5842, ark.1.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.130, ark.6, 11.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.129, ark.1.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.239, ark.26.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 392, ark.32.

year. And the third-year students, passing modern Ukrainian language tests, even had special examination cards with the tasks analyzing Stalinist sayings and thoughts<sup>1</sup>. If that is not enough for understanding of the role of Stalin's "intellect", keep in mind that Ministry of Education was not satisfied of the work done. So, in January of 1953, it organized the re-examination of young people already not on their professional subjects but on the level of understanding of "classical works" by "Great Leader". Of course, it looked as the absurdity. And not many, as already mentioned educator Ivan Chyrko, tried to criticize it mildly naming a banal formality<sup>2</sup>.

### MARCH OF 1953: MORTALITY AS A PART OF GREATNESS

The publication of a government announcement on the illness of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR informed the State of Stalin's loss of pruritus and ability to speak, paralysis and breathing violations due to brain hemorrhaging<sup>3</sup>. These were things that are entirely natural for a living person and are not permissible for a worshiped leader. From the first sight, they had to dissolve the old system of ideals and had to establish a new vision of Stalin as mortal, equal to the other, capable of errors. However, the roots of religious psychology in the middle of the Soviet consciousness were too deep. That caused an explosion of the contrary reaction.

Many teachers first could not even believe that 75-year-old dictator could have died because of problems with health. Stepan Danishev from Poltava school #25 stated:

*"I firmly believe that the disease of Comrade Stalin was deliberately complicated to remove him by the spring and use the confusion and lack of solid leadership in the country for the development of an aggressive war<sup>4</sup>".*

His colleague from school #1 of Poltava Antonina Honchar even tried to explain the ways of such crime: *"maybe, there are some delayed action poisons*

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 382, ark.63.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 392, ark.46.

<sup>3</sup> "Uryadove povidomlennya pro khvorobu Holovy Rady ministriv Soyuzu RSR ta Sekretarya Tsentral'noho Komitetu KPRS Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina vid 3 bereznia 1953 roku", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 5, 1953, no.46, 1.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-15, op.2, spr.1298, ark. 20

*that could be taken through drinks and meals in small doses, but on a regular basis<sup>1</sup>*”.

Anyway, the majority reckoned the death of Stalin to be “a heavy loss”, as it was announced to the public the lecturer of Kyiv SPI Reutskyi<sup>2</sup>. However, Stalin’s dying only granted him some insanity (even if it sounds paradoxically). A huge stream of creativity of the people only confirms this:

<i>“... сонцем невгасимим в небесах Грїть йому серця і наші душі. Сталін з нами в битвах і трудах, Сталіна силою ми дужі, Сталіна волею тверді!”</i>	<i>“... As the inexhaustible sun in heaven, He’ll will warm our hearts and souls. Stalin is with us in battles and at works, We are strong with Stalin’s strength, We are hard with Stalin’s will<sup>3</sup>”</i>
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The publication of two other legislative documents worked in favor of rooting the stereotyped image of “the theocratic Stalin”. The first one ordered to put a sarcophagus with the body of Stalin “in the mausoleum on the Red Square, along with the sarcophagus of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin”<sup>4</sup>. The second told about a project for the creation of the Pantheon, a monument of “the eternal glory of the great people of the Soviet Union”, to where the bodies of two embalmed Soviet “Godlymen”, as well as other deserved and respected deceivers of the country” had to be transferred later<sup>5</sup>.

Laid next to his teacher, Joseph Dzhugashvili gained ideological immortality. The new legislative acts didn’t shaking the old legal framework depriving him of the former privilege of being “the first among equal”. Analyzing the speeches of the statesmen in the periodicals, we see that even the slightest criticism did not appear from their mouths. The country was in grief for the “creator of the happiness of the working people” and “the collector of all Ukrainian lands”, therefore the aura of grief did not violate even the smallest chords for the separation of powers.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO. f.P-15, op.2, spr.1298, ark.20.

<sup>2</sup> DAKO, f.P-485, op.3, spr.2, ark.100.

<sup>3</sup> Honcharenko, Ivan. “Stalina syloyu my duzhi”, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, March 10, 1953, no.12, 4.

<sup>4</sup> “Postanova Tsentral’noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu i Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR «Pro mistse vstanovlennya sarkofahu z tilom Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina»”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 2.

<sup>5</sup> “Postanova Tsentral’noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu i Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR «Pro sporudzhennya panteonu – pam’yatnyka vichnoyi slavy velykykh lyudey Radyans’koyi krayiny»”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 2.

Of course, a skilled researcher can say that the Party bosses tried to decrease Stalin's influence right after his death. It can even be seen in the definition of the most important task of the new government – “ensuring the smooth and proper management of all life in the country, preventing any frustration and panic<sup>1</sup>...” However, even really being the first bell of de-Stalinization processes, it was muffled with a symphony of sorrow during the funeral of Stalin – “The Light of humanity”<sup>2</sup>. No doubt that the death of Joseph Vissarionovich caused dramatic changes on the political Olympus. However, to the ordinary people they were seen as if a new order in the country even with the new appointments was blessed by the deceased leader himself. To see it one should skim-read Beria's speech during the mourning ceremony in which he not once presented to the peoples of the USSR Georgiy Malenkov as “a talented pupil of Lenin and a true associate of Stalin<sup>3</sup>”. Note that these speeches were then discussed by each department of the institutes. Moreover, the result of the discussion was similar in all cases: the educators, hearing about Stalin's successors, decided ... further reinforced the desire to study and deepen the use of brilliant Stalinist works in their own work<sup>4</sup>.

For those not present in the Red Square near the coffin of the tyrant, there was a broadcast of the mourning ceremony. In Poltava, it was conducted from 35 repeaters all over the city. It is known that the population of towns and villages voluntarily went out on rallies of the memory of the leader. Higher pedagogical schools were not exceptional ones. Thus, the Stalin scholarship of the Poltava SPI thanked the late leader, invisibly present at each such meeting on behalf of all students for growing “under the sun of the Stalinist Constitution”. He assured that all of his peers would be “worthy sons and daughters of the Stalinist era”. These words were said as if the tyrant was still alive. However, we find the understanding that the dictator had really passed away in the speeches of professors. They are emotional as well but include more mentions of death, sorrow, abandonees etc. For example, the teacher of Poltava school #9 Mrs. Voropayeva summed up that “a man died whose name, like the Sun, was shining over the world”<sup>5</sup>. The director of the Poltava SPI Dmytro Nenenko at the meeting of the collective said:

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<sup>1</sup> “Postanova spil'noho zasidannya Plenumu Tsentral'noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Radyans'koho Soyuzu, Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR, Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR vid 7 bereznya 1953 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Velyka skorbota Ukrayins'koho narodu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.48, 3.

<sup>3</sup> “Promova tovarysha Lavrentiya Pavlovycha Beriia”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 10, 1953, no.51, 1.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.382, ark.79.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.P.-15, op.2, spr.1357, ark.13; 46-50.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

*“Let’s in that sorrowful days give our word to our Motherland, our party, that we – employees of the university and students – will give our strength to even better, even fully acquire the immortal doctrine of Lenin-Stalin<sup>1</sup>”.*

That – along with the poems of his students to study on good and excellent marks – was the lightest promises. All others – from Kamchatka to Kaliningrad – repeated the psychological slogans of the enormous cohesion and unity of the Soviet people who during the time of sorrow would help to beat all known and unknown enemies<sup>2</sup>.

The obligations of the Ukrainian educators necessarily appeared on the pages of periodicals in order to join the choir of collective mourning of different social groups. The facts of the absence of the reaction could be regarded as an element of diversion of the ideological education of the younger generation. We can assume that some people really were indifferent to Stalin’s death but did not want to show it. However, they forced themselves to sit throughout the long propaganda lecture on life, illness and death of the “Warrant holder of peace” organized for them. During those events people were told about the prophetic deeds of Stalin and the great loss of the planet with the physical but not the ideological death of the dictator. And educators were not only passive listeners of those stories. They also made ideological infusions into the consciousness of the people. Thus, the lecturers of Sumy SPI were involved in that campaign from March to the last days of May of 1953<sup>3</sup>.

In addition, the press continued to vividly demonstrate how a country was living in sorrow, on that background building the communism. The ideologist created the feeling of the unification in grief even through art. The inhabitants of different regions did not feel lonely in their hardship knowing about the sorrowful exhibitions of the artists of Dnipropetrovsk<sup>4</sup>. Or they were convince to find the living Stalinist spirit everywhere around them:

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<sup>1</sup> “Nezabutnye im’ya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 8, 1953, no.49, 2.

<sup>2</sup> “Velyka z-hurtovanist’ i yednist’ ”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 7, 1953, no.49, 1.

<sup>3</sup> DASO. f. R-5369, op. 1, spr.166, ark.43B.

<sup>4</sup> “Vystavky, prysvyacheni pam’yati Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 25, 1953, no.62, 1.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

*«в подихах весни і в буйних сходах,  
У садах Полтавщини квітучих!  
що живе у сталінському роді,  
У мільйонах сталінців могутих».*      *“in the breath of spring and in the lush sprouting,  
In the blooming gardens of Poltava!  
who lives in Stalin's family  
Millions of Stalinists mighty<sup>1</sup>”.*

They also continued the creation of the image of the loss of the Savior of Ukraine. Stalin was named “the defended of the Ukrainian lands from the traitors of the Central Rada, the White Guard counterrevolutionaries, and the imperialist interventionists<sup>2</sup>”. The information on the new elite vanished in his post-mortuus shade. So, for the period from 1 to 31 of March, Stalin, in all possible variations, was mentioned 2 thousand 579 times in the pages of the “Zorya Poltavshchyny”. Most of those notices, however, were ritual and memorial publications that 3 times increase the “common” index. Thus, March had 42% of all references to the name of the late leader in 1953. Nevertheless, Stalin had removed his heirs far behind from the consciousness of the people. Malenkov was the closest in the list of the “living politician” being mentioned 19 times less.

Along with the manifestations of grief, or the openly expressed apathy of behavior, we can assume that among the mass of employees of the educational establishment there were probably those who exhaled with relief, receiving news of the death of Joseph Stalin. These inferences arise on the basis of the fact that even a party poet Borys Slutskiy described the events of the mourning days of 1953 with ambivalent emotions:

*“Как будем жить без Сталина?  
Я посмотрел кругом:  
Москва была не грустная.  
Москва была пустая.  
Нельзя грустить без усталы.  
Все до смерти усталы”.*      *“How will we live without Stalin?  
I looked around:  
Moscow was not sad.  
Moscow was empty.  
You cannot be sad without getting tired.  
Everyone is deathly tired<sup>3</sup>”.*

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<sup>1</sup> Khomenko, Nadiya. “Vozhd' zhyve v narodi”, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, March 10, 1953, no.12, 4.

<sup>2</sup> “Ukrayins'kyu narod shanuye pam'yat' svoho vozhdya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 13, 1953, no.53, 1.

<sup>3</sup> “Svoyevremennyye razmyshleniya” in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism [Edited by Abraham Brumberg]* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 408.



### 1953: MONTHS WITHOUT “FATHER OF ALL”

April of 1953 was prominent for the publication of the reports of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the termination of a number of criminal cases started by Stalin including the well-known “case of doctors”. That should have introduced some new vision of the dictator. However, the late “Soviet emperor” was still highly praised. The people continued to honor his name by inertia. The regional and republican contests songs that took place in April were dedicated to his eternal memory<sup>1</sup>. We know that collectives of the pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR took part in such events however we have no documented evidence of the change of their repertoire that often included cantatas to Stalin.

Maybe, the best illustration of that atmosphere is the poem by Hryhoriy Plotkin published already in May when even the State holiday of Working Class one more time turned into the praise of Comrade Stalin:

<i>“Про батька нашого, про Сталіна рідного, Грими наша пісню, грими! Ніхто не зіб’є нас зі шляху побідного, До щастя крокуємо ми!”</i>	<i>“About our father, about native Stalin, Thunder, our song, thunder! No one will knock us out of the winning way We are walking to the happiness<sup>2</sup>”</i>
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Other facts insure us in that thought. For example, the scientists were still obliged to report on the re-designing educational plans in the light of Stalin’s “ingenious works”. They even remained the words “ingenious” in the documentation when the tyrannical bearer of that title was already in the coffin. The strictness of the regime seemed never to fade. For example, the educators of the sub-department of Ukrainian Literacy of Poltava SPI were forced to rewrite their programs and plans twice per one spring months. However we need to mention that problem occurred not because of the scare or great admiration. The local authorities continued to promote Stalin’s linguistic theory. But it was so empty that educators had hard time implementing it. They tried to explain to the party organs the problem in the lightest way without offence of Stalin’s genius. Poltava educator Volodymyr Savelyev justified the delay: “*now, the teachers are trying to illustrate the ingenious Stalinist position on the language by concrete*

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<sup>1</sup> “Konkurs na krashchu pisnyu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 3, 1953, no.68, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Plotkin, Hryhoriy. “Pro bat’ka narodnoho, pro Stalina ridnoho!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 13, 1953, no.94, 3.

*facts*<sup>1</sup>”. Despite the attempts, they systematically failed and in the appliance of all those “wise conclusions” and received public reprimand. When the teacher mentioned that he was going to use the works of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin in his lecture, the reviewers urged to state the quotes directly leaving no place to improvisation<sup>2</sup>. It seemed that totalitarian censorship mixed up on fear after the death of a totalitarian leader became even stronger.

The country did not even think of living without Stalin. It is easily seen through the enlightening activities of the educators. They were massively involved into the multidisciplinary seminars of the leaders of lecturer groups, held at the regional and district centers. Their main message was Stalin’s contribution to the development of numerous sciences<sup>3</sup>. The scientific and pedagogical staff was among the main players in their own ideological torture. In Poltava, they even went out of their own cabinets and initiated the series of lectures on the additional study of the “immortal works of the mortal leader” for a wide range of teachers of city schools<sup>4</sup>. For example, the sub-departments of the Poltava SPI even organized seminars on the in-depth study of dictator’s works in memoriam of the leader<sup>5</sup>. Historians proclaimed J. Stalin to be the creator of the Ukrainian state<sup>6</sup>. Philologists tried to make wonders through the use of Stalin’s works on economics in the further development of ... literary studies and fiction<sup>7</sup>.

The same feelings of admiration were very strong among the educators. For example, the student of Poltava SPI Petro Rotach expressed them in his poetic lines where the late leader of the CPSU appeared as if saint protector of the State even after his death. He is depicted with his “immortal predecessor” in the atmosphere close to the philosophical transcendental discussion in the Paradise-like scenery. The dictator is addressed in a manner of ancient Slavonic heroic myths as a “fair falcon” who gave his life for the happiness of his people. Stalin is even named Lenin’s brother to insure his connection to the source of the Soviet system:

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.392, ark.78.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.392, ark.114.

<sup>3</sup> “Oblasnyy seminar kerivnykiv lektoriv kykh hrup raykomiv i mis'kkomiv Komunistychnoyi partiyi Ukrayiny”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 7, 1953, no.70, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Kharchuk, Borys. “Vchyteli vvychayut’ «Ekonomichni problemy sotsializmu v SRSR»”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 17, 1953, no.77, 1.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.395, ark.5.

<sup>6</sup> Sherstyuk, Fedir. “Yosyp Vissarionovych Stalin – tvorets’ Ukrayins’koyi radyans’koyi derzhavy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 12, 1953, no.74, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Kuz’menko, Andriy. “Znachennya pratsi Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina «Ekonomichni problemy sotsializmu v SRSR» dlya rozvytku literaturoznavstva i khudozhn’oyi literatury”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 18, 1953, no.78, 2.

*“У сквері березовім Ленін  
І Сталін розмову ведуть.  
Навколо їх трави зелені  
І квіти весняні цвітуть...*

*“In the birch square, Lenin  
And Stalin are talking.  
Around them, the grass is green  
And the spring flowers are blooming...*

*...Вітчизна їх любить, як мати,  
Тепло їм дає, щоб цвіли,  
Для їхнього щастя два брати  
Два соколи ясних жили”*

*... Fatherland loves them, like mother,  
It gives them warmth to melt,  
For their happiness, two brothers  
Two clear falcons lived”<sup>1</sup>*

As we see, the situation was ambivalent. From one side, the country was breaking the chains of Stalinist justice. From another, it was even more closely clinging to the grips of Stalin’s ideological insurmountability.

It seemed that science never felt the effect of relief after Stalin’s death. Young teachers received reprimands with public discussion for neglecting the references to the work of the recent deceased “great theorist”. The students’ scientific conference in Poltava SPI in May also passed with ample appeals to Stalin’s figure. He was still present in 30% of the scientific work of young people. So, in the section of social sciences 4 out of 7 reports were devoted to the figure of the Leader. Philologists had 2 out of 5, and even physicists (!) had one out of seven<sup>2</sup> works. Thus, even analyzing the essay of Hryhoriy Nektovenko “On the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, the teacher of Marxism-Leninism Sofiya Paisakhzon reduced the mark in two points from “5” (“excellent”) to “3” (“satisfactory”) because the student did not demonstrate that ideas of European philosophers ... “were developed by Stalin’s genius”<sup>3</sup>.

One could hope that the fall of Beria in summer of 1953 could have shaken Stalin’s pedestal even more. And from the first sight it really looked like truth especially when analyzing the press articles published in August along with a resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the “perpetrator Beria”<sup>4</sup>. In an atmosphere of obscure changes, the authorities continued the policy

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<sup>1</sup> Rotach, Petro. “Zhyvi kvity!”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, May 24, 1953, 102, 2.

<sup>2</sup> ДАРО, ф.Р-1507, оп.1, spr.392, ark.183-187.

<sup>3</sup> АРНПУ, ф.1 (z/v), оп.1956 (L-P), spr.2266. Nektovenko Hryhoriy Fedorovich (1951-1956 pp.),ark.32.

<sup>4</sup> “Plenum Tsentral’noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Ukrayiny”, Zorya Poltavshchyny, August 1, 1953, no.151, 1.

of persuasion in the invincibility of the all-nation case of Lenin-Stalin<sup>1</sup>. However, they also started a gradual and timid attack on the cult of the personality. However, in August, it was connected more with Beria than with Stalin. But the statements of Pyotr Pospelov include barely audible hints about the need to expand the range of “suspects”:

*“We must resolutely eliminate from the practice of propaganda the wrong, non-Marxist coverage of the role of a person in history, remembering that the personality cult leads to the humiliation of the role of the party and its governing center”<sup>2</sup>.*

His words were repeated by the head of the department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov in front of all colleagues at the beginning of the new academic year on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September of 1953 with the request from then on “to make fewer accents on the role of the personality<sup>3</sup>”. Teachers of pedagogical institutes were forced to resort to work that had essentially two directions: they simultaneously corrected lectures on the triumph of the masses in history<sup>4</sup>, and continued to actively fight for the use of the achievements of the genius of Stalin everywhere: from scientific work even to an admission campaign<sup>5</sup>.

The official “state” image of Joseph Stalin, which was embodied in the consciousness of the citizens in the post-Stalin Union, was seen best in November 1953. It discovered that all the talks that Khrushchev would lead a few years later on a gradual and purposeful campaign to combat Stalin’s cult were only a political small talk. In fact, the official position of the authorities did not change comparing to March of that year. So, Kliment Voroshilov officially stated:

*“Thirty years after the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, who gained universal recognition and the immense trust of the people and*

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<sup>1</sup> “Promova Holovy Rady Ministriv Soyuzu RSR tovarysha H. M. Malenkova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 9, 1953, no.158, 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> “P’yatdesyat rokiv Komunistychniy partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 2, 1953, no.152, 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 392, ark.211.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f. R-5369, op. 1, spr.164, ark.3.

<sup>5</sup> Yaremenko, I. “Na vstupnykh ekzamenakh”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 15, 1953, no.163, 3.

*the party, led the party and the country along the Leninist path in a friendly environment of their faithful comrades<sup>1</sup>”.*

The consciousness of the educators was held in the context of this thesis. Some institutions to the anniversary of the revolution continued to deliver complex lectures explaining the role of the masses and the rottenness of the cult (meaning Beria, first of all). They also held on axiomatic interpretation of the role of Stalin as “a student and follower of Vladimir Illich Lenin’s ideas”<sup>2</sup>.

The statesmen realized that they had stepped on their own tail. Therefore, the ideological machine quickly rushed to revive the situation. So, the teacher of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute Borys Lozovskyi argued in the newspaper article:

*“Marxism does not deny ... the significance of prominent historical figures, the role of ideologues, masters of the revolution, does not deny the recognition of the authority of the leaders, gained during the years of the struggle of the working class<sup>3</sup>”.*

In fact, such statements by the teachers of the Ukrainian SSR created an “ideological indulgence” that Comrade Stalin would have enjoyed for many years, until he was taken from a pedestal on which he stood beside Lenin. The local columns of protesters in the cities of Ukraine only testified to the revival of the old elements of Stalin’s veneration. So, in Poltava, among the educators’ columns of the city, where the teachers and students of the local SPI were present, the correspondent of the newspaper adored “dearly-decorated portraits of leader” Stalin<sup>4</sup>.

The generation of educators formed in the “Sun of the Stalinist Constitution” continued to hold its fading ideals. The graduate of Poltava SPI Yakiv Shutko expressed it poetically:

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<sup>1</sup> “36-ti rokovyny Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi Sotsialistychnoyi revolyutsiyi (Dopovid’ Tovarysha K.Ye Voroshylova na urochystomu zasidannya Moskovs’koyi rady narodnykh deputativ 6 lystopada 1953 roku)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 7, 1953, no.222, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.139, ark.10, 67.

<sup>3</sup> Stepanov D., Lozovs’kyy B. “Rol’ narodnykh mas v istoriyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 15, 1953, no.227, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “Svyatkuvannya 36 rokovyn Zhovtnya na Poltavshchyni. Demonstratsiya trudyashchykh Poltavy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 10, 1953, no.223, 3.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

*“Ми з тобою рядом виростали,  
Ще з колиски, з піонерських літ.  
Це ж для нас тоді ще Ленін, Сталін  
Принесли зорі нової світ”.*

*“We grew up with you  
From the cradle, from the pioneer years.  
This is for us then Lenin, Stalin  
Brought the light of a new dawn<sup>1</sup>.”*

The imposition of the image of the Stalin-Messiah, who imitated his noble predecessor Lenin, was powered by the release of the decree on the workers' access to the Lenin-Stalin mausoleum, which was solemnly opened on November 17, 1953. Now people had to stand in lines for tickets to this new ideological attraction either in executive committees of district councils, or wait for the “presents” from ministries and NGOs<sup>2</sup>. The propagandist machine spun in the reverse, trying to force it again to believe that even after the death, the leader still was powerful and near – although not alone any more. The student of Poltava SPI Ivan Chervonyshchenko reflected the trinity of “idols” placing them in the lines of his poem:

*«Комунізм – це Леніна завіти,  
Невмирущі Сталіна діла,  
Комунізм – це мир у всьому світі,  
Це зоря, що в жовтні розцвіла»,*

*“Communism is Lenin's covenants,  
Stalin's unbreakable business,  
Communism is peace around the world,  
This is the star that blossomed in October<sup>3</sup>”*

But even the preparations for the October holidays shower the crack in the facillite idol of Stalin. Even though the Central Committee of the CPSU called to move forward “under the banner of Lenin-Stalin to communism”<sup>4</sup>, we see that a new party cult was already establishing inside the pedagogical institutes gradually replacing Stalin from his position. Although the main ideological recommendations ordered teachers to provide all educational work in the light of Stalin's decisions of the nineteenth congress of the CPSU<sup>5</sup>, the practice made its own adjustments. So, the choir of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute changed traditional repertoire for the

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<sup>1</sup> Shut'ko, Yakiv. “Zhovten' molodyy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 7, 1953, no.222, 2.

<sup>2</sup> “Pro dostup trudyashchykh u mavzoley Volodymyra Illichа Lenina ta Yosypа Vissarionovychа Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 14, 1953, no.226, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Chervonyshchenko, Ivan. “Komunizm – tse Lenina zavity!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 21, 1953, no.231, 1.

<sup>4</sup> “Zaklyky Tsentral'noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Radyans'koho Soyuzu do 36-kh rokovyn Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi Sotsialistychnoyi revolyutsiyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 25, 1953, no.213, 1.

<sup>5</sup> DASO. f. R-5369, op.1, spr.163, ark.1.

Revolution anniversary. Year by year they sang songs glorying Stalin. In October of 1953, they made a shift to the one naming the Party a helping hand country<sup>1</sup>.

Some “fermentations” of ideas with ideological doubts periodically emerged among students. Analyzing one of his lectures, Dmytro Stepanov, the head of the department of Marxism-Leninism in Poltava SPI, mentioned such “unhealthy moods” among the youth. One of the students asked why Stalin in his speech before the Stakhanovite had talked about the contrast between mental and physical labor, and in the paper “Economic problems of socialism in the USSR” had already told about the destruction of this opposition. It is worth saying that the question put the lecturer at a standstill, because he finished the lesson without a response. Already during the recess he tried to give some standard explanation saying that Stalin had done it looking at the changing views and the evolution of social relations<sup>2</sup>.

Already by December of 1953, the political winds changed extremely moving the educators revise their biographies along with the political doctrines. It could be seen clearly, but step by step they were leaving the piety to Stalin in the past. For example, the personal official characteristics of the teachers show how they changed their descriptions. If in 1952 it was honorable to be “a devotee of the Lenin-Stalin’s Party<sup>3</sup>” or to “the Case of Lenin-Stalin<sup>4</sup>”, in the end of 1953 they rewrote the documents becoming “devoted to the Communist Party and the Socialist Motherland<sup>5</sup>”. It is prominent that the first ones to make those changes in their bios in Poltava SPI were the lecturers of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism who did it under the strict ideological control of their chair master Dmytro Stepanov<sup>6</sup>. They were quickly orientated in the fluctuations in the policy of the USSR.

The same way the educators acted with their scientific work. Stalin with his genius was slowly leaving the titles of the papers. We find numerous facts of that in the inner documentation. For example, Poltava lecturer Hryhoriy Mandych once started the development of the theme “Work experience of the party organization of the Stalin farm in Reshetylivka district of the Poltava region<sup>7</sup>”. Already in couple of months the mention of Stalin vanished and he was studying the experience of

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<sup>1</sup> Kharchuk, Borys. “Mozhna bulo b krashche”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 4, 1953, no.198, 3.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.424, ark.23 (28)

<sup>3</sup> APNPU, f.2, op.L, spr. Lozovs'kyi Borys Yosypovych, ark.21.

<sup>4</sup> APNPU, f.2, op. K, spr. Karyshyn Andriy Potapovych, ark.20zv; 26zv.

<sup>5</sup> APNPU, f.2, op. M-2, spr. Mudrachenko Petro Dementiyovych, ark.17.

<sup>6</sup> APNPU, f.2, op.S-2, spr. Stepanov Dmytro Vasyl'ovych, ark.36.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.424, ark.7.

“leading kolkhoz of the region”<sup>1</sup>. The same fact were mentioned in Sumy SPI. There, for example, the teacher K. Kravetska, probably in the light of many political events, changes the subject of an almost finished thesis on the role of Stalin Constitution to the place of Soviet Constitution... in the Ukrainian folklore<sup>2</sup>, although at the beginning of 1953 the previous topic was regarded as promising and rather urgent<sup>3</sup>.

However, the December Ministerial Directive “On measures to improve the preparation of language teachers by the pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR” was filled with appeals to refer to Stalin’s papers. They even mentioned as an exemplary the teacher of the Kherson Pedagogical Institute Bohdanovych, who had been quoting Stalin’s works to the students for an hour<sup>4</sup>. Having read that to his collective, the director of the Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos stressed the need of work just in the light of the works of Joseph Stalin<sup>5</sup>. It seemed that there was no light in the end of the cult-tunnel.

Everything said was just a top of the ideological iceberg. What really was happening in the souls of the educators in 1953 can’t really be restored with the help of documents. Much information was lost or just wasn’t recorded. We are sure that there was a great relief in some groups when Stalin died. At least we have solemn evidence that the student of Kyiv University Fedir Koval happily ripped the porters of the presidium of the Central Committee and the dead leader and tore them into small pieces<sup>6</sup>.

### **1954: FATHER OF NATION AND THE GREATEST CULT-FIGHTER**

Moving from the cult of personality to the world without Stalin was a long way to accomplish not only for the educators but for the whole country. The problem of cult itself was associated only with the enemies of the state but not with the memory of the great leader who helped to create the new-born republic. The official cannon kept the memory of him as of a great friend of Ukraine. The press broadly quoted Joseph Stalin to the anniversary of the Bolshevik intervention in Ukraine in January of 1918: “Ukraine is gaining its freedom – hurry up to help!”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.493, ark.16.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f. R-2817, op.3, spr.140, ark.13.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.131, ark.4.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.169, ark.67.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.440, ark.47.

<sup>6</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.24, spr. 2736, ark.115.

<sup>7</sup> Smolych, Yuriy. “Velyke Yednannya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 15, 1954, no.10, 2-3.



In 1954, Stalin was attributed not only as the father of the USSR, but also as a founder of Ukraine. That was a year of a 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the treaty of Pereyaslav between Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and tsar of Moscow Mikhail Alekseyevich. The ideological meaning of the old-day event for the justification of swallowing Ukraine in the Soviet confederation was tremendously great. Assuring the citizens in the “eternal union” of the Russians and the Ukrainians was partly based on the ideas of Stalin’s theory of international friendship. And the deceased ideologist was still present at all holidays. For example, at the opening ceremony of the decade of Russian literature and art in Kyiv in May of 1954, there was a giant portrait of a dictator in the concert hall<sup>1</sup>. The visual pressure connecting Stalin with the Ukrainian statehood, continued for quite a long time. People from festive demonstration in Kyiv crowded the central street of Khreshchatyk with colossal portraits of political leaders in hands holding Stalin’s pictures as well<sup>2</sup>. His image was fluttering in the back during the opening of the monument to commemorate the 300th anniversary of “reunification” at the Kyiv railway station in Moscow in June 1954<sup>3</sup>. Even the Ukrainian leaders as the First Secretary of the CC of CPU Oleksiy Kyrychenko quoted Stalin reassuring the masses that there was no conflict and could not be any between the Ukrainian and Russian people<sup>4</sup>. Mainly because it was eliminated by the wise Stalinist national politics.

The one who was supposed to be the father of peace between nations was out of charge of tyranny. On the contrary, we find that by educators of Poltava SPI Stalin was proclaimed the main theorist of the “correct interpretation of the role of the person in history”<sup>5</sup>. The press easily referred to him when calling criticism of a cult a special communist method of fostering human resources<sup>6</sup>. The accent on Stalin’s figure was explained as the need to set an example of a communist commander of a new type and the true guardian of the socialist countries<sup>7</sup>. Even the

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<sup>1</sup> “Svyato nerushymoyi druzhby rosiys'koho i ukrayins'koho narodiv. Vidkryttya dekady rosiys'koyi literatury i mystetstva v Kyievi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 8, 1954, no.95, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. May 1954 goda. №31* (Directed by Vertova K.,1954)

<sup>3</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Iyun' 1954 goda. №32* (Directed by Venzher Í.,1954)

<sup>4</sup> “Pro 300-richchya vozz'yednannya Ukrayiny z Rosiyeyu. Dopovid' Sekretarya Tsentral'noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Ukrayiny tovarysha O. I. Kyrychenka na Yuvileynyi sesiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrayins'koyi RSR 22 travnya 1954 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 23, 1954, no.106, 2-4.

<sup>5</sup> Tereshchenko, A. “Biblioteka partiynoho komitetu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 24, 1954, no.40, 2.

<sup>6</sup> “Krytyka i samokrytyka – osnovnyy metod vykhovannya kadriv”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 11, 1954, no.163, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Odintsov, H. “Virnyy strazh krayin sotsializmu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 23, 1954, no.39, 2.

pre-election appeals of the Central Committee of the CPSU in February of 1954 explained that it was solemnly Stalin who brought Soviet people to socialism<sup>1</sup>.

The next Stalin's image of still present in 1954 was the depiction of Joseph Vissarionovich as a world peace holder. The press showed his significance in a new geography. It made an accent that even former Third Reich had new cities named after the "savior of Europe" as StalinStadt in Germany (present day Eisenhüttenstadt)<sup>2</sup>. The media emphasized the presence of the portrait of the dictator during demonstrations in the streets of Bucharest<sup>3</sup>, Prague<sup>4</sup>, Sofia, Vienna and Warsaw<sup>5</sup>. The documentaries of that day fixed the great ideological visual influence on the consciousness of people. The broadcaster could say nothing about the tyrant but the viewers of the news leaflets easily mentioned gigantic profile of Stalin at the congress of the Hungarian Workers Party<sup>6</sup>, at the X Congress of the CP of Czechoslovakia<sup>7</sup>, or at the Fourth meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany<sup>8</sup>.

Stalin's importance a year after his death was traced also in cultural and sport events of the country. Looking through the news bulletins of 1954, the canvases with Stalin's face emerge at the wide range of events that theoretically had no connections to the dictator except ideological need. They are present in the depiction of the XXI Chess Tournament of the USSR in February<sup>9</sup>, above the stadium "Dinamo" in Moscow during Students' sports contest in July<sup>10</sup>, and in the time of August demonstration at the All-Union Scientific and Technical Conference of Young Innovators in Moscow<sup>11</sup>. Even the newly opened scientific centers receive were still named after Stalin. For example, the press announced about the finishing of the construction of the Stalin Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw in March of 1954<sup>12</sup>. No wonder, that Stalin was still studied in the universities

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<sup>1</sup> "Zvernennya Tsentral'noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans'koho Soyuzu do vsikh vybortsiv, do robitnykiv i robitnyts', selyan i selyanok, do radyans'koyi intelihentsiyi, do voyiniv Radyans'koyi Armiyi i Viys'koho-mors'koho flotu", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 11, 1954, no.31, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> "Medal' «V pam'yat' 300-rychchya vozz'yednannya Ukrainy z Rosiyeyu»", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 14, 1954, no.165, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. May 1954 goda. №28* (Directed by Kopalín Í.,1954)

<sup>4</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. Iyun' 1954 goda. №36* (Directed by Karmazíns'kiy M.,1954)

<sup>5</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. May 1954 goda. №27* (Directed by Venzher Í.,1954)

<sup>6</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. Iyun' 1954 goda. №34* (Directed by Rêpnikov S.,1954)

<sup>7</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. Iyun' 1954 goda. №35* (Directed by Derbisheva L.,1954)

<sup>8</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei April' 1954 goda. №20* (Directed by Tulub'yeva Z.,1954)

<sup>9</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. Fevral' 1954 goda. №12* (Directed by Genína Í.,1954)

<sup>10</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. Iyul' 1954 goda. №39* (Directed by Medvedkín A.,1954)

<sup>11</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dnei. Avgust 1954 goda. №45* (Directed by:Rêpnikov S.,1954)

<sup>12</sup> "Vidvidannya delehatsiyeyu KPRS budivnytstva Palatsu kul'tury i nauky imeni Yosypa Vissarionovycha Stalina u Varshavi", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 17, 1954, no.46, 4.

among the coryphaeus of sciences. For example, Poltava lecturer Kostyantyn Kashkalda used Stalin's papers on linguistics explaining the topic of the system of denominators of nouns<sup>1</sup>. His colleague Hryhoriy Kulyk recommended to re-new (!) all the lectured according to dictator's works "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR"<sup>2</sup>. And Hlukhiv educators used as an obligatory studying material the information on disease and death of the leader along with the speeches at the funeral of the tyrant<sup>3</sup>. Among the list of the scientific plans of that SPI we find that the educators dedicated their own research works to the dictator's heritage<sup>4</sup>.

The time passed, but Stalin remained in the row of great military leaders as well. His presence is felt in images and the quotes. For example, during the February festive meeting in the Central Theater of the Soviet Army dedicated to the 36th anniversary of the Red Army, it was Stalin's portrait hanging across the stage<sup>5</sup> as well as during the Navy Day celebration in the Column Hall of the House of Unions in Moscow in July<sup>6</sup>. And while the marshals and generals in 1954 only rose up commemorating Stalin, students of pedagogical institutes had to study his military doctrines. For example, the teacher P. Bohdanov of Hlukhiv SPI required the youth to know Stalin's reflections on Kursk and Stalingrad battles<sup>7</sup>.

Propaganda was constantly presenting the meaning of the dictator in the world through the issuing State Stalin Prizes. They were awarded annually since 1941 and were a sign of recognition of the high scientific, cultural, engineering or organizational and technical contribution of the laureate. The year of 1954 was the last when the award bore the name of Stalin. Than the new rulers renamed it into State Prize. However, the first explanation of the elimination of Stalin's name in the Prize was simple: Since Stalin died in March 1953, leaving no will, the royalties from his publications could no longer be used to pay the premiums on his behalf. Therefore, after 1954, the Stalin Prizes were not awarded. But in the last year of issuing the documentaries turned to that topic 7 times in 1954, honoring the laureates from Belgium<sup>8</sup>, Cuba<sup>9</sup>, India<sup>10</sup>, Great Britain<sup>11</sup>, Poland<sup>1</sup>, Sweden<sup>2</sup> and the

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.432, ark.104.

<sup>2</sup> APNPU, f.2, op.K-4, spr. Kulyk Hryhoriy Ivanovych, ark.6

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.164, ark.46zv.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.153, ark.1.

<sup>5</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Fevral' 1954 goda. №12 (Directed by Genina I.,1954)

<sup>6</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Iyul' 1954 goda. №43 (Directed by Yeggers K.,1954)

<sup>7</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.164, ark.50.

<sup>8</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Iyul' 1954 goda. №40 (Directed by Grigor'ev R.,1954)

<sup>9</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Dekabr' 1954 goda. №72 (Directed by Babushkin YA.,1954)

<sup>10</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Iyul' 1954 goda. №41 (Directed by Rêpnikov S.,1954)

<sup>11</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Sentyabr' 1954 goda. №54 (Directed by Rêpnikov S.,1954)

the USSR<sup>3</sup>. Each time there was also a monumental portrait of the dictator hanging somewhere at the background of the ceremony halls and pressing the viewer with its greatness. And that is not counting the publications in press.

We need to mention that not less attention was given to Stalin's scholarship issued to the students of pedagogical institutes of the country. Each candidate should have been truly decent person. For example, when the new discussion on the list of the nominees started in Poltava SPI in 1954, Mykola Rizun noticed that they needed the complete some specific requirements – “not only the candidate should be an excellent student, but it necessary for this candidacy to be perfect from each side”<sup>4</sup>.

So, was there any sign of criticism of Stalin in such volume of praise? We didn't find any sharp accusation of the dictator in any kind of misleading form the side of educators. However, there were some phrases that show slow de-Stalinization of their worldview. Thus, the minutes of the party meetings in Poltava SPI noted the words of Mykola Rizun who named the late 40's the time of slandering, gurgling and denunciations. Was it a criticism of the electric atmosphere in the institution during the late Stalinism? We do not know exactly for there was no reaction to his words. As well as to his thoughts that the times of long meetings, useless academic councils, and of waste writings had passed away and the era of productive business came into turn<sup>5</sup>. Once again, that possibly sounded as a critique of Stalinist management without naming the things under their real names. We find that scare of the open judgment of Stalin in other protocols. For example, the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos urged his colleagues to make “literally a fracture” in teaching the foundations of Marxism-Leninism<sup>6</sup>. However, he never said that this ‘fracture’ should be made in the evaluation of Stalin's role in history. When not long after his speech the lecturer Mariya Malych used Stalin's work “One more time about the Social-Democratic bias in our party”, she received a portion of criticism. But we are interested in the formulation of it: “reading the lecture in a style in which she read it several years ago, without taking into account modern political realities”. As well as the historians of Poltava SPI had

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<sup>1</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Iyul' 1954 goda. №39 (Directed by Medvedkin A.,1954)

<sup>2</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. April' 1954 goda. №23 (Directed by Kisel'ov F.,1954)

<sup>3</sup> Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Sentyabr' 1954 goda. №51 (Directed by Karmazins'kiy M.,1954)

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.440, ark.142 (154)

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4826, ark.22, 37-38.

<sup>6</sup> Plish, Maksym.” Vykhovannya studentiv – na vyshchyy riven'! (Na zvitno-vybornykh zborakh partiynoyi orhanizatsiyi Poltavs'koho derzhavnogo pedahohichnoho instytutu imeni V. H. Korolenka)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 26, 1954, no.196, 2.

no will to say openly about the cult of Stalin in their field. In November, the sub-Department of General History of Poltava SPI they just reported on changing their work to strengthen the portrayal of the role of the people in the historical process<sup>1</sup>. Educators felt the changes but they were too afraid to talk about them to the full voice.

### **1955: ‘STALINIST DÉCOR’ vs. ‘STALIN AS A DÉCOR’**

Looking at the place of the late dictator in 1955, we see that Khrushchev moved in the way of criticizing his predecessor’s esthetic tastes. The architectural style, known as Stalinist empire, present in decoration of the central streets, palaces of culture, department stores and even buildings of pedagogical institutes, recalled about the titanic figure of its donator. For example, the building of the hostel of Poltava SPI ruined by the Nazis was rebuilt in the manner of the “progressive” Stalinist architecture. It combined elements of the Napoleonic era empire, late Classicism and a little of Art Deco with a pompous entrance and monumental pseudo columns, moldings of laurel wreaths, ears of corn and five-pointed stars. T we can imagine the influence of such construction on the consciousness of the person entering the institute. Stalin’s care of the youth could be considered extremely nigh if even the hostel looked like an antique temple. And no one cared that it took too many years to rebuild it with a shortening of plans.

That domination of the memory of Stalin in the urban environment came to its end already in November of 1955 when the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a Decree “On the elimination of excesses in design and construction”. They stated that the architecture was abundant with an outwardly ostentatious side that did not correspond to the line of the new Party and the Government. Many architects were convicted of excessive decorating of the facades of buildings, found guilty of not improving of the internal planning and equipment of houses and apartments, of neglect the need to create amenities for the population, and of forgetting about the requirements of the economy and the normal operation of buildings.

Among the main sins of Stalin’s architecture the Party named unjustified tower-like superstructures, numerous decorative colonnades and porticoes. They were proclaimed “architectural excesses borrowed from the past” which emptied the

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.493, ark.2, 23.

public funds having made it impossible to build millions of square meters of living space for workers. As a punishment, the state deprived some architects of the title of Stalin Prize laureates awarded to them for some famous constructions<sup>1</sup>. But that was it. No-one went down to eliminating the signs of Stalin's empire style on the already constructed buildings. The struggle with "tyrant's luxury" was only on the paper and in the newly started projects.

However, it happened. But we have no reaction on it documented in the inner documentation of SPIs of Ukraine. We are in another fact: did this evolution mentioned in the construction happened also in the consciousness of the educators? Did the process, that Sidney Hook called "liberation through evolution<sup>2</sup>", really take place already in 1955 when the Party seized the authority of the late dictator inch by inch in different spheres of life?

The modern viewer could see strange situation: from the one side, Khrushchev made some steps in measuring Stalin's presence in the artistic sphere. But in reality Stalin himself did not leave the Soviet art. He remained there in many forms. One them was the "Stalin as emblem". Late leader's profile adorned the texts of the appeals of the CPSU the May Day<sup>3</sup>. His bas-relief along with Lenin's one embellished the solemn meetings dedicated to the October Revolution<sup>4</sup>. And even two years after J. Stalin's death, the opening of a new monument to the dictator was presented as holiday as it was with the ceremony in then-Hungarian city of Târgu Mureş<sup>5</sup>.

Second "artistic position" is dictator's presence in poetry printed in the mass media and used in the education. However, in 1955, Joseph Vissarionovich slightly moved back behind the new or even forgotten idols. We see him giving up his position to the Communist Party. It is reflected in the poem by Sergey Mikhalkov translated into the Ukrainian by Maksym Rylskyi. However, we the same confidence we can state that it was Stalin who even after death was holding the reins of the CPSU too tight:

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<sup>1</sup> "Postanova TsK KPRS i Rady Ministriv SRSR «Pro usunennya nadmirmnostey u proektuvanni i budivnytstvi»", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 10, 1955, no.224, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hook, Sidney. "The Import of Ideological Diversity" in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism [Edited by Abraham Brumberg]* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 554.

<sup>3</sup> "Zaklyky TsK KPRS do 1 Travnja 1955 roku", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 21, 1955, no.80, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Urochyste zasidannya v Poltavi", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 7, 1955, no.223, 3.

<sup>5</sup> "Vidkryttya pam'yatnyka Yosypu Vissarionovchyu Stalinu v misti Tyrhu-Muryash", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 25, 1955, no.252, 4.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

*“Під сонцем радісним братерства і свободи  
В нас правда Леніна і Сталіна живе!  
На труд, на подвиги радянські всі народи  
Комуністичная нас партія веде”*

*“Under the joyful Sun of fraternity and freedom  
The truth of Lenin and Stalin lives in us!  
To labor, to the exploits, all Soviet peoples  
Are led by The Communist Party”<sup>1</sup>*

There was another interesting shift of accents. It is traced in the presentation of the holidays to the people. Even the article about once all-Union feast of Stalin’s birthday, in December of 1955 was called “Under the leadership of the Communist Party!” being dedicated to the 76th anniversary of the deceased ruler<sup>2</sup>. One more time, the meaning of this can be ambivalent – hiding Stalin in the shadow of the party and tightening the CPSU with the mummified ideologist. In behalf of the domination of the second version (at least in 1955) speaks another poem by Nikolay Rodichev widely used in the lectures on the philology department of Poltava SPI for the linguistic analyses. There, Stalin took a “divine place” near Lenin becoming a new twin-like ideal of the moral humanistic and people-oriented management:

*“К народу! – так всю жизнь они шагали,  
Два твердокаменных большевика.  
Два имени великих Ленин, Сталин –  
Стоят, как в жизни, рядом на века!”*

*“To the people! – they walked all their life,  
Two hard-rock Bolsheviks.  
Two great names of Lenin, Stalin –  
Stand, as in life, close for the ages!”<sup>3</sup>*

This is close to the last form of “Stalin’s adoration” – the one we like to call the Stalinist scientific esthetic. It meant using his name where it was (and sometimes wasn’t) possible. This “unspoken tradition” was widely-spread. One couldn’t think another way but put the quote by Stalin in his research not only because of fear but also because of the prevalence and economic affordability of his works. For example, in May of 1955, the educators advertised among their students the publication of Stalin’s speeches at the VIII Congress of the All-Union Communist Youth Movement in 1928 “On the tasks of youth”. The issue was great – 15 thousand copies, and the price was extremely low – only 10 kopecks per a brochure<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Mykhalkov, Serhiy. “Partiya – nash rul’ovyy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Kuly 6, 1955, no.134, 3.

<sup>2</sup> “Pid provodom Komunistychnoyi partiyi!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 22, 1955, no.250, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Rodychev, Nikolay. “Na Tammerfarskoy konferentsyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 22, 1955, no.250, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “Knyzhkova polytsya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 29, 1955, no.107, 2.

It was very common in 1955 to be still accused underestimating and diminishing the role of Stalin's work in teaching process. For example, that happened with lectures of Russian language in Hlukhiv SPI despite the accents on Stalin's linguistic "teachings"<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, we need to say that there was a small crack in the status of Stalin. Thus, in Hlukhiv, while commemorating the former ruler at the anniversary lectures in December, the educators did not name him "genius" any more. He was called "just" a great follower of Lenin who adequately developed his teachings<sup>2</sup>.

It seemed that there was no sign of criticism of the terrible past repressions and the way of life under Stalin's rule. The 20th Congress of the CPSU with its breaking news was still to come but no one expected it to be more than the economical road mark to the state<sup>3</sup>. Although we find "underwater ideological currents". They were connected with the removal of the books mentioning Stalin from the libraries of the pedagogical institutes. But this summer campaign was unknown to the wide educators' audience<sup>4</sup>. Most of teachers and students continued to live under the credo: "*We ourselves should not seek to know what we should not know*"<sup>5</sup>.

### 1956: THE IDEOLOGICAL WATERSHED

Major changes in attitude towards Stalin took place from February 1956 to October 1961. And the Twentieth Party Congress was a turning point. Analyzing the interviews on the events from Khrushchev era, the scientist Oksana Bulhakova found out that the most memorable were two of them –Gagarin's flight into space and Khrushchev's report on the cult of personality<sup>6</sup>. Probably the second event really gave an opportunity for many of teachers to speak freely on what they used to keep silence. The fear ruled them no more melting the ice even in the personal relationship and not only in the ideology. We see it as the educator of Poltava Ishchenko frankly

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<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.198, ark.9-10.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.180, ark.50.

<sup>3</sup> "Informatsiyne povidomlennya pro Plenum Tsentral'noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyyi Radyans'koho Soyuzu", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 13, 1955, no.139, 1

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 220, ark.1.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5267, ark.54.

<sup>6</sup> Bulhakova, Oksana. "Povsyakdenne zhyttya naukovozy intelihentsyyi doby «vidlyhy»" in *Istoriya povsyakdennosti: teoriya ta praktyka: Materialy Vseukrayins'koyi naukovozy konferentsyyi, Pereyaslav-Khmel'nyts'ky, 14-15 travnya 2010 roku* / [Upor.: Lukashevych O.M., Nahayko T.B.] (P-Khm., 2010), 190.



exclaimed: “Stalin’s dictatorship had brought us to the point that we could not even drink a glass of tea with each other<sup>1</sup>”. That was a result. But the year started as always – in ordinary praises to the rulers.

The new 1956 came along with the slogans urging to spread the competition for welcoming the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Poltavites dived into it as well as the whole country “from the Pacific to the Carpathians, from the Arctic latitudes to the southern borders<sup>2</sup>” as they were encouraged by the party authorities. The regional enterprises tried to meet the stagnant pace of production of this significant event in the political life of the country. The calls to repeat new labor feats constantly appeared: to reach an unprecedented fattening of the cattle or to extremely rise the footwear production in one minute<sup>3</sup>. Similar preparations continued in the environment of the university intelligentsia who had their own field for records. Speaking of Stalin, no-one was expecting the profound changes that the XX Congress was going to bring. For example, the Poltava press continued to replete with references to the unity of the Soviet people around the “invincible flag of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin<sup>4</sup>”. And the staff of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute held the previously defined course for the implementation of the “top” instructions as well.

The party machine worked rather cleverly and coherently. The party bosses controlled – the ordinary party members executed. At least, in the reports and official representations the picture looked like this: each new Party congress was worthily welcomed and duly escorted, necessarily having “universal significance” and “planetary effects”. However, in the beginning of 1956, a small circle of 10 people who were associated with the work of a special commission under the chairmanship of the secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mikhail Pervukhin new about the “universal effect” of the possible “big laundry of dirty clothes of the Party”.

The fact of the mystery over the most radical step in de-Stalinization is proved by the text of the lectures on the major issues of the XX Congress delivered to the pedagogical stuffs of the country. Thus, the teacher of Marxism-Leninism sub-department of Poltava SPI Yakiv Pidipryhorshchuk developed a special course

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4911, ark.22.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-12, op.1, spr.734, ark.39.

<sup>3</sup> “Shyryt’sya zmahannya na chest’ XX z”yizdu KPRS i XIX z”yizdu KPU”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Januzry 7, 1956, no.5, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “XX z”yizd Komunistychnoyi Partiyi Ukrayiny”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 17, 1956, no.12, 1.

“The rise of material well-being in the cultural level of the Soviet people<sup>1</sup>”. However, we find an interesting fact implying the rumors spreading among the Soviet people long before the official attack on Stalin’s cult. Thus, the worker of Poltava Observatory Obrezkov asked about the material on the cult already on February 16<sup>2</sup>. That had happened nine days before the First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev delivered a report “On the Personality Cult and its consequences” at the end of the Congress at a closed meeting of the Central Committee on February 25. Facts about Stalin’s crimes contained in the report were the real surprise for many delegates<sup>3</sup>. Information was gradually passed through the party censorship to the very bottom.

The Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR sent an order “On the study of the decision of the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in higher education institutions” dated February, 29. The teachers also received a list of lectures and seminars to study on the materials of the XX Congress<sup>4</sup>. It placed SPIs in the strict ideological framework. The first document should have started extensive discussions in universities. But it didn’t. It was read out loud without discussions during the closed party meeting or at the meetings of scientific councils<sup>5</sup>. However, the information from the secret documents spread with the speed of forest fire.

The text of Khrushchev’s speech, edited by the Presidium, was published in the press on March 5 with the aim to familiarize the politically active part of the population with the ideological changes in the country. As we know, the whole report was not published in the mass media. But the population had already been informed about the need to

*“finally eliminate the consequences of spreading the person’s cult, further deploying intra-party democracy, expanding criticism and self-criticism more broadly, and stepping up the struggle against the mood of complacency in order to adorn the true state of affairs”<sup>6</sup>.*

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<sup>1</sup> APNPU, f.2, op.P-19, spr. Pidipryhorshchuk Yakiv Volodymyrovych, ark.13.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4489, ark.3.

<sup>3</sup> “Nikita Khrushchev: «Bez Stalina ... mozhet byt', i voyny by ne bylo»”, *Izvestiya*, January 13, 2006  
URL: <http://www.izvestia.ru/news/311131>

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.232, ark.18-19

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.P-121, op.1, spr.1420, ark.28

<sup>6</sup> “Partiyno-orhanizatsiynu robotu – na riven' novykh zavdan'!” , *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 6, 1956, no.48, 1.

It is very difficult to say how these hints from the newspapers were understood. Did people really understand that as a fight with the “precisely that (Stalin’s) cult” or with “the very person”? For, after reviewing the periodicals of all the years after the death of the “leader of nations”, the one could have an impression that while preserving in the public consciousness “eternally alive” Lenin, nobody was going to remove the nimbus from Stalin’s “eternally genial” head. However, the order came from above. And then, the party machine quickly moved its “wheels”.

Already in March of 1956, there were closed party meetings across the SPIs of the Ukraine. According to a protocol of the one held in Poltava SPI on March, they gathered 65 out of 70 party members and party candidates. The presidium including the director of the institute Mykhaylo Semyvolos and the dean of the Faculty of History Hryhoriy Kulyk used a good old secret: if you want to hide something important, place it in a prominent place but pretend having something strongly important next to it.

Thus, the closed meeting agenda provided only two questions for consideration. The first one concerned the training of teachers of polytechnic studies at a pedagogical institute and was reported by the director himself as the prominent one. However, it was discussed in some minutes. The educators resorted to the next one. That fast pace of the discussion endures us in the thought that the question was deliberately put on the agenda in order not to focus too much attention on the one related to the report of Nikita Khrushchev “About the cult of person and its consequences<sup>1</sup>”.

The transcript of the congress was read by an assistant professor of pedagogy Neonila Bazylevych<sup>2</sup>. Basing on party documents, we can argue that there was no discussion of the question and no counter-questions<sup>3</sup>. Although 8 persons – students and teachers – were willing and able to address the first (polytechnic) part of the agenda. Not a single word was said by party secretary Mykola Rizun, or by the director of the institute, nor by the former Khrushchev guard Hryhoriy Kulyk, who supposedly was said “to take up as a feast the denunciation of the cult of the person of the great leader<sup>4</sup>”.

It is difficult to explain the lack of a documented reaction of the staff of Poltava SPI. Apparently, it was because of the decisive, almost revolutionary, change in the

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.13.

<sup>2</sup> APNPU, f.2, op. 2002, Bazylevych Neonila Havrylivna, 89 ark.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.16.

<sup>4</sup> Marchenko, N.H. “Kulyk Hryhoriy Ivanovych” in *Istoriya Poltavs'koho pedahohichnoho instytutu v osobakh. Materialy konferentsiyi, prysvyachenoyi 80-richnomu yuvileyu instytutu* (Poltava: Klaryssa, 1995), 126-127

party's course. Or, perhaps, it was decided not to leave it in the document because of its vivid expression and turbulence. The unstable ideological atmosphere moved to keep silence. Because even Poltava city party committee after all "official" dissensions of the cult of Joseph Vissarionovich, at the end of February, issued a plan of activities obliging to hold conversations and readings of memoir papers dedicated to Stalin throughout March simultaneously with the developing a plan for seminars of secretaries of the groups of primary party organizations of educational institutions on the topic "Issues of ideological work in the light of decisions of the XX Congress<sup>1</sup>".

One way or another, but the leadership of the institute did not hurry to familiarize the general public with the text of the report of the First Secretary of the CPSU, as it was required by the instructions from Moscow. Therefore, the main measures of the directorate, the bureau of the Party organization of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute until March 15, were focused around the discussion of the open materials of the XX Congress of the Party "with the gradual introduction of changes to the working plans of the departments according to the fateful decisions<sup>2</sup>".

Poltava SPI was not unique in its reaction to the secret report. For example, we find that the meeting dedicated to the "cult question" in Cherkasy SPI lasted for three hours, but the record of it took only 4 pages – mainly including the re-telling of Khrushchev's speech<sup>3</sup>.

One can only imagine how long it was possible to delay the holding of general party meetings in Poltava pedagogical institute. The analysis of that time press allows us to assert that, while the university leadership was in a position of expectation, the public excitement in Poltava was slowly increasing. This was facilitated by even indirect calls to revitalize the ideological work. Thus, the "Zorya Poltavshchyny" with numerous ideological infusions, continued to support the image of a military party organization called for "promotion of the eradication of the cult of person<sup>4</sup>", while raising the economic and cultural activity of the masses. Poltava residents were pushed to actively join the all-Union campaign launched by Khrushchev from the platform of the XX Congress. It is not surprising that from this kind of informational hunger and dosing of information, the main features of de-Stalinization in the Poltava region were the usual monotonous criticism of Stalinism and its accompanying phenomena. It is given even more seen in the

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f. P-12, op.1, spr.731, ark.126.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.17.

<sup>3</sup> DACHO, f.P-2187, op.1, spr. 21, ark.101.

<sup>4</sup> "Hlyboko vyvchaty rishennya XX z'yizdu KPRS", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 17, 1956, no.56, 1.

resolutions on purely production issues. It was a norm to mix production and ideological issues, especially when the professional meetings gradually grew into focused lectures on criticism of Stalin's personality. Thus, the director of secondary school №27 Tamara Tolstonosova, reporting on the issue of establishing a polytechnic studying and on the relations of the school with the industry<sup>1</sup> moved to

the special tasks of the teacher “in the elimination of the consequences of the person's cult, because the person's cult was reflected in the first books for reading, in history, in Constitution, etc<sup>2</sup>”. The mass ideas of the real cult issue were limited to the primitivism. Therefore it was impossible to wait with further familiarization with the party's line.

The increased interest in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, in the end, made the party leadership of the Poltava SPI hold the open party meeting on March 28. There were 584 people (including 60 members of the CPSU, 4 candidates for membership and 520 non-party members). Apparently, for monitoring the “correct” development of events, the secretary of Poltava city committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Oleksiy Selishchev was invited to join the presidium. He, as a delegate of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, read out the report “The results of the work of the Congress of the CPSU and the tasks of the party organization of the Institute”. There were no other issues on the agenda<sup>3</sup>. The text of the transcript of the statement is not preserved, and therefore we can only make the assumption about what was voiced by the secretary of the city committee of the CPSU before a large audience, and what was left behind. According to the minutes of the meeting, 31 persons participated in the discussion of the report. However, it is not possible to isolate some kind of unity of reaction – either a sharp condemnation or general agreement because the speeches concerned a large number of outstanding educational issues. And only 12% (4 speeches) related directly to the results of the XX Congress (not touching Stalin's cults in any way).

In general, we believe that the first “anti-Stalin” meeting was organized in order to reduce the level of concern raised by the decisions of the XX Congress among the staff of the university. This is evident from the character of the speeches of the participants (concise, non-provocative), and in the decisions of the open meeting. They differed little from the previous ones, again requiring the staff of the pedagogical institute to organize a deep study of the materials of the congress “both

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<sup>1</sup> “Do novykh uspihiv komunistychnoho budivnytstva! Zbory partiynoho aktyvu Oktyabr's'koho, Kyyivs'koho, Lenins'koho rayoniv mista Poltavy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Merch 20, 1956, no.58, 3.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-19, op. 1, spr.231, ark.37.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.19.

among the Communists, and among the entire staff of teachers, students and administrative and technical staff” and again “to review all the curricula in the light of the decisions of the XX Congress<sup>1</sup>”. We found the same reaction during the same kind of party gatherings in Nizhyn<sup>2</sup> and in the Osypenko pedagogical institutes<sup>3</sup>. The similar zero reaction was mentioned in Slov'yansk<sup>4</sup>, Rivne<sup>5</sup> and Stanislav<sup>6</sup>.

The party beurocrats once again followed the formality with a high level of quality. Teachers, having received a dosed amount of information on the current problems that shook the foundations of the ideological system, should have been satisfied. Note that such a practice of informing information only within certain limits was common not only to the teaching staff of Poltava SPI. The cautious phrases “at the end the presenter stopped on the issue of the person’s cult and its harmful consequences” was applied throughout the Poltava region and became a model for the conduct of the political organizations not knowing what was prohibited and what was allowed. So, on March 26, right before the open meeting in Poltava SPI, there was a gathering of regional activists of teachers and educational workers, together with representatives of party and Komsomol organizations, the first secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Mykola Rozhanchuk, speaking in front of 800 participants of the meeting, never went away from the “allowed truth” of the speech printed in the press<sup>7</sup>.

At the end of March, the Department of History of Poltava SPI submitted a new plan of work “in light of the decisions of the XX Congress”. It offered the lecturers teaching the first year students to criticize the cult of the personality which penetrated the educational literature, emphasizing the role of the people as the creators of history. While educating the second year students they were recommended to make separate remarks about all “stretches and distortions, sparked by the cult of the personality turning far more attention to the works of Vladimir Lenin”. Poltava historians also made a change in the presentation of three major political topics. When illuminating the history of the first Russian bourgeois-

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.21zv.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAVO, f.166, op.15, spr. 1874, ark.9.

<sup>3</sup> TsDAVO, f.166, op.15, spr. 1877, ark.14.

<sup>4</sup> TsDAVO, f.166, op.15, spr.1880, 60 ark.

<sup>5</sup> TsDAVO, f.166, op.15, spr.1881, 51 ark.

<sup>6</sup> TsDAVO, f.166, op.15, spr.1874, 73 ark.

<sup>7</sup> “Neukhyl’no polipshuvaty navchal’no-vykhovnu robotu v shkolakh!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 30, 1956, no.64, 3.

democratic revolution, it was necessary to emphasize the harm of the cult of the personality Stalin, from now on to bring to the proper place the figure and the role of Lenin. In addition, changes were made to the lectures “About the Great Patriotic War” and “On the Elimination of the Remains of the Bukharin-Trotsky Spies, Pests, and Traitors of the Motherland”. All Stalin’s works were deleted from the lists of literature for each topic. Being asked about the need of that total removal, the historian Oleksandr Danishev said that was worth doing, because Stalin in his writings and letters had been constantly humiliating the role of Lenin and history<sup>1</sup>.

This became especially important at a time when the lines written by Vladimir Ilyich in January 1923 were cited throughout the country:

*“I suggest to my comrades to think about the way of transferring Stalin ... and about appointment ... of another person who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin with only one advantage, namely, is more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to his comrades and less capricious<sup>2</sup>”.*

That “First book purge” was not a peculiarity of Poltava SPI. A special directive of the Ministry of Education from March 12, already urged pedagogical institutes to revise all catalogs in the libraries in light of the Twentieth Party Congress<sup>3</sup>. The Poltava regional library also forbade giving to the readers the literature at least somehow connected to the cult of Stalin. However, along with such extreme measures we see a block of “moderate reformers”. For example, Poltava philologist Petro Padalka told that there that there was no order on extraction of Stalin’s works from the libraries. So the scientists and lectures had a right to use them without bulging them<sup>4</sup>. However, he was head of the department of literature and art in the board of the Poltava regional organization of the society “Knowledge<sup>5</sup>”. Already in mid-April he organized a conference of readers on the topic “The image of the teacher in the literature” in the walls of the pedagogical

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.541, ark.46zv-51.

<sup>2</sup> “Postanova Tsentral’noho komitetu KPRS «Pro podolannyu kul’tu osoby i yoho naslidkiv»”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Juky 3, 1956, no.128, 1.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.237, ark.9.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5883, ark.19-20.

<sup>5</sup> Dyachenko, A.M. “Padalko Petro Kostyantynovych”, *Istoriya Poltavs'koho pedahohichnoho instytutu v osobakh. Materialy konferentsiyi, prysvyachenoyi 80-richnomu yuvileyu instytutu* (Poltava: Klaryssa, 1995), 139.

institute. Already there in the presence of 170 people, the lecturer was forced to touch the problematic issue raised by the XX Congress<sup>1</sup>.

The duality of the legislative position was demonstrated by the order of the Ministry of Higher Education from April, 07. Along with the need to fight the cult of Stalin, it ... reminded that dictator's works remained in the lists of recommended literature to certain themes. He was a number one theorist in World War II. Yet, in all other cases the lecturers just listed Stalin's books after papers by Vladimir Lenin in the row of "Additional authors"<sup>2</sup>. Double standard became a norm in the cult fighting. For example, the Poltava Regional Committee of the CPSU set the list of the lectures on the harmfulness of the cult required for the usage in the educational institutions. But it also provided a block of Stalin's works for the necessary use in the lectures<sup>3</sup>. Another example comes even closer to the studying process. In July, there were regional assemblies of the party activists and educational workers that stated the revision of book funds<sup>4</sup>. For example, Hlukhiv SPI agreed to look through the shelves "clogged with the books full of the cult of personality"<sup>5</sup>. Their colleagues in Poltava that month threw away 5 thousand 486 pieces of such literature. But the educators asked to slow down. For example, the lecturers of the sub-department of Russian and foreign literature in Poltava SPI, openly told that they were not going to throw out all the works, where there were hints of a person's cult. So, the head of the department Volodymyr Savelyev noted that they did not reject the work of Alexei Tolstoy "Bread", but only began to interpret it from the positions of the XX Congress, because the work occupied a great place in the creative development of the writer<sup>6</sup>.

The historian of Kharkiv SPI Fedir Dniprovyi justly noted that the resolution of the XX Party Congress brought a lot of problems to the lectures of the humanities. They had to explain to the students who and why let them make so many ideological mistakes while reading of their courses in the previous years<sup>7</sup>. And there surely were too many questions from the students. For example, Poltava lecturer Mykola Lyakhov was even forced to urge the young generation not to make "artificial comparisons of the role of Peter the Great and Stalin"<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ovcharenko, M. "Konferentsiya chytachiv", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 10, 1956, no.71, 4.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.191, ark.5-13.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-15, op.2, spr.1556, ark.22, 61.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-15, op.2, spr.1551, ark.5.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.205, ark.33.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.553, ark.60, 45.

<sup>7</sup> DAKhO, f.R-4293, op.2, spr.696, ark.18.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.554, ark.41.



The historians showed the same reaction when it came to the implementation of the order of the Ministry of Education No. 08/165 dated March 26 “On the processing of programs in the light of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress”. In Poltava, this discussion was held under the surveillance of the Secretary of the CPSU City Committee O. Selishchev. The teachers of the Department of History said that the Ministry again did not provide concrete instructions on carrying out such a desired restructuring plans, completely dumping all responsibility and work onto the educational institutes of the country. There were plenty of problematic topics: the history of Narodniks (the XIX century Populism movement in the Russian empire) and the Prague Conference (6th All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party on 5–17 January, 1912, after which Stalin was co-opted to the Bolshevik Central Committee upon Lenin and Zinoviev's recommendation), the Civil and the Great Patriotic War and so on. There were radical proposals of deleting from Russian and foreign literature courses all works where the figure of Joseph Dzhughashvili was excessively described. Teachers unanimously decided not to read lectures on the topic “Stalin’s Image in Folklore” and “Stalin’s Image in Soviet Literature”. They also “cleaned” the themes of course theses for students. From then the main attention was to be paid to the people and Lenin<sup>1</sup>.

The historian Stepan Danishev expressed the quintessence of the attitude to what was happening at the time in the Soviet Union: “We will make mistakes again if we rebuild teaching in our own way”. Probably, lecturers wanted to hear specific advice from the party secretary present at their alma mater. However, as soon as the conversation moved to the use of Stalin’s works in lecture and practical courses, O. Selishchev put a bold stop-mark in the discussions, strongly recommending “not to allow the revision of the policy of the CPSU, which was always right<sup>2</sup>”.

However, the teachers did not like such classic answers. Because the issue had remained open by the end of the month was raised once more during the Academic Council of the Institute by the head of the department of history Hryhorii Kulyk, who insisted that the Ministry of Education should give certain instructions on the correction of programs, because the general provisions were insufficient<sup>3</sup>. Was it a regular fear to do something wrong as a left-over from Stalin’s times?

The question of the further fate of literature in the context of the political purge was very relevant, because even Poltava Regional department of Education was looking for ways of overcoming the latest collisions. The teachers were

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.553, ark.10-11.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.541, ark.53zv

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.542, ark.55.

constantly asking the center: “How to study literature when the program included most of the poems about Stalin?” or “How to be with portraits and works of Stalin?<sup>1</sup>”. Knowing that, party leaders at each regular state holiday paid attention to a decisive action against “the the cult of a personality alien to Marxism and fundamentally contrary to the socialist idea, to the nature of the Soviet social system<sup>2</sup>”.

The historians saw the misbalance between the requirements of the state to get rid of Stalin from the educational process and the supply with the proper literature. Thus, Poltava historian Mykola Rizun said that Stalin’s biography exaggerated his merits and should not be used. But “The brief course of the Party History” was the only source for they didn’t have a new book to offer<sup>3</sup>.

The media was ready to help. Thus, the worker of the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” Sheiko urged his colleagues in March: “It is necessary to prepare for conducting massive work among the population<sup>4</sup>”. And they started from the calls “to strengthen the struggle against the mood of self-complacency and attempts to decorate the true state of affairs<sup>5</sup>”. The lecturers of pedagogical institutes willingly moved to the masses physically checking up the correct implementation of the party instructions of cult fighting.

For example, we find educators of Poltava SPI among the guests at many party meetings of secondary schools of the city. Mrs. Sofiya Peysakhzon explained her mission as a control of the discussion of the reports and resolutions of the XX Congress<sup>6</sup>. The inspectors were writing down all heard and especially teachers’ questions. Being asked about the need of that notation some of them answered: “to Inform about the course of meetings correctly”. But the range of the questions and the sharpness of the reaction illustrated that all registration was because of the fear of the free mind. People stuck between need of the criticism and the deeply rooted love. For example, the teacher Ovsyannykova from school #13 said that she had to forbid her pupils to write compositions about Stalin although they wanted to do it for their essays for the certificates of maturity, saying to her: “*We all were raised by Stalin*” and she corrected “*by the Party*”. Her colleagues expressed different thoughts. Mrs.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5191, ark.15.

<sup>2</sup> “Sprava Lenina zhyve i peremahaye. Urochyste zasidannya u Velykomu teatri Soyuzu RSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 24, 1956, no.81, 1.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.24.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4603, ark.7.

<sup>5</sup> “Partiyno-orhanizatsiynu robotu na riven’ novykh zavdan’”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 6, 1956, no.48, 1.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3934, ark.9.

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Bohunova explained the presence of the fear to go till the end in the collective arguing: *“We now tell off the deceased and we are afraid if something could happen. The fate of responsibility lies on each of us”*<sup>1</sup>. Probably, the role of the educators in the cult was one of the most painful. We find the same monologues at school #25 of Poltava (Mrs. Drobot: *“In the question of the cult of Stalin we are guilty as workers of the ideological front as well”*<sup>2</sup>) and in Cherkasy SPI (educator P. Marunya: *“not only Stalin is guilty, but all of us, including the comrades who surrounded Stalin”*<sup>3</sup>).

	Question	Number of party organizations
1	How did the Central Committee and CPSU allow the emergence of a person’s cult?	64
2	Why was the XIX Congress of the party silent on this question?	59
3	How to explain the cult of personality to non-party citizens?	53
4	How to evaluate Stalin’s works from now on?	38
5	What is Beria’s role in emerging the cult?	29
6	Where were the letters of Lenin, Krupskaya and Central Committee stored before the XX Congress?	28
7	Has the report been negotiated by delegates to the Congress?	28
8	Who wrote works and speeches for Stalin?	21
9	Do the fraternal parties know about the cult?	21
10	Why does Stalin’s body lie near Lenin in Mausoleum?	19
11	Why have state leaders praised Stalin in recent years?	19
12	How to present the history of the USSR?	18
13	What is the fate of Stalin’s portraits and statues? Will those who offend them tried?	16
14	Why didn’t Stalin prevent the war?	16
15	How to be with the repressed politicians?	16
16	Is the report declassified?	15
17	Can old slogans be used?	9
18	Why did Lenin act otherwise?	9
19	What is the current state of criminal and political affairs started under Stalin?	9
20	Will there be renaming of the cities, factories, etc.?	8
21	What is the reaction of the people of Georgia?	6
22	Have the gossip on Zhukov been fair?	5
23	Did Stalin correct the works of Lenin?	2

<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3945, ark.6zv-7.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3919, ark.36zv.

<sup>3</sup> DACHO, f.P-2187, op.1, spr.21, ark.57.

To determine the range of the most pressing issues for educators of the country, using the method of statistics, we processed party documents of 64 educational organizations of Poltava having collected data from various documents of pedagogical universities of the country and other institutions and organizations. The largest number of speakers was interested in how the Central Committee and the party tried to prevent the emergence of personality cult (100% of organizations). No less curiosity was expressed to the question why XIX Party Congress was silent about the cult of Stalin (92%) or how one would explain unaffiliated exposing of Stalin's crimes (82%). The smallest number of references were to question of the reality of Stalin's persecution of G. Zhukov (8%) and the possibility of correcting of Lenin's works by Joseph Stalin (3%).

That was a "standard" list of questions. To prove it we went through the party documents of different institutions of Poltava. They all included the wide range of reactions: from the fear to talk to the brave phrases against the late tyrant. For example, the teachers of Poltava musical college asked if they could have their personal opinion on the cult issue. They had already hit a stumbling block with all ideological changes. The day before the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU was issued, they hung a poster with the Stalin's portrait in the hall of the college and then had to tear it down very fast<sup>1</sup>. On the contrary, the police was interested in what to do with those smashing and tearing the images of the Party leaders after hearing the news on the cult of personality<sup>2</sup>. However, even in the city prison, among the military, they tried to decrease the grade of emotions overwhelming the personal: "It's not a matter for comrades now to break up the busts and tear Stalin's portraits, it is easy to do it, and the Party now poses the question of the implementation of the sixth five-year plan<sup>3</sup>".

As in pedagogical circles, collectives all over the city split onto those believing and disbelieving the Party document on the cult. Thus, in the Museum of the Poltava Battle, the worker Slynchuk mentioned: "The first words said by children were 'mom,' 'dad' and 'Stalin'. With the name of Stalin our soldiers went to their feats". On the contrary, his colleague Vasylakiy mentioned Stalin's involvement in the Holodomor of 1932-1933 summarizing: "The people never loved him<sup>4</sup>".

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5108, ark.18.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-121, op.1, spr.1420, ark.21.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4410, ark.13.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4549, ark.35-36.

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The radical wing pushed to the replacement of words in the hymn, where it was said that Stalin had grown the Soviet people<sup>1</sup>:

*“Сквозь грозы сияло нам солнце свободы,  
И Ленин великий нам путь озарил.  
Нас вырастил Сталин – на верность народу  
На труд и на подвиги нас вдохновил”*

*“Through days dark and stormy where Great Lenin lead us  
Our eyes saw the bright sun of freedom above  
And Stalin our leader with faith in the people,  
Inspired us to build up the land that we love”.*<sup>2</sup>

We could hear even the first calls to take Stalin’s body out from the Mausoleum because “next to the true and only genius of mankind, with the greatest and wise Lenin, there could not be a place for a man who had spilt so much blood” after “raising himself to the podium of the tsar”<sup>3</sup>.

Even the workers of Poltava courts were worrying that the gossip about the distrust to Stalin were circling among the separate strata of the population. These were called “market talks” the agitators of the ideological institutions had to prevent<sup>4</sup>. And the educators of Poltava began meetings with people gathering a deeper understanding of people’s opinion and giving them additional explanations<sup>5</sup>.

A month after the speech of Nikita Khrushchev was sent to the local branches of the CPSU, the party organizations of pedagogical institutes gathered for another meeting. According to the protocol No. 7 of April 5, the discussion of the report of the comrade Khrushchev at the closed session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU “On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences”, attended by 60 members of the CPSU and 4 candidates for membership in the Communist Party of Poltava SPI. Among them 11 people were able to speak up. The text of the report was read by the secretary of the city party committee Zakhar Borsuk<sup>6</sup>.

The first block of speeches included ones urging the processing of educational programs. Some 63% (7 people) addressed to it. Obviously, at that time, the appeal

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.5842, ark.151-52.

<sup>2</sup> “The Soviet National Anthem”. URL: <https://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/sounds/lyrics/anthem.htm>

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5836, ark.10-12.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4549, ark.17, 25.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.5842, ark.151-52.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.22.

of the propaganda and campaigning department of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine “to widely apply all forms and methods that are in the arsenal of propaganda work” was perceived too literally<sup>1</sup>. Speaker Borsuk in his commentary on his own speech advocated for a high-level propaganda: “There are cases when the report “On the cult of personality and its consequences” was not read where it was supposed to be, but almost in the pubs. It hurts the case<sup>2</sup>”. To prevent amateurishness and similar phenomena, the educators proposed... restructuring of the educational work<sup>3</sup>.

Student Teslenko, present at the meeting, gave them a certain sharpness of colors to the meeting. Referring to the directions for fighting the cult of a person printed on the pages of Pravda, he said loudly: “We need ... not to wait for new directions, but to redefine the course of lectures, and should not repeat the old things!<sup>4</sup>”. The open attraction to the rapid revolutionary resolution of the issue did not find support in the management of the institute. So, the director Mykhaylo Semyvolos recommended in order to avoid mistakes during the reorganization of lectures, to discuss all texts at the sub-departments’ meetings “seriously and deeply”. Finally, the anti-Stalin spirit of the newly elected secretary of the party organization Mykola Rizun awoke<sup>5</sup>. Compared to previous meetings, he behaved openly, without restraining critical attitude to Stalinism. Recognizing the mistakes of the leader of the peoples, he stated: “The cult of the person was swiftly raging, and, I would say, turned into the tempest against which it was difficult to speak”. However, criticizing Joseph Stalin, taking his title of “coryphaeus” away, M. Rizun, however, did not resort to extremes, as his radically-minded colleagues: “all worthy he has done, we should admit and should not pass by it in our lectures<sup>6</sup>”.

It was quite easy for the present lecturers to begin to guess about the causes that led to the disadvantages associated with the cult of the personality. Among them, the teachers mostly named non-compliance with the charter of the party, the difference in words and deeds both at the upper parts of the party, and on the local level. In particular, the teacher of the Department of Physics Vasyl Berezovskyi, who until recently, like most of his colleagues, was, according to the characteristics

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<sup>1</sup> Dovbnya, K. “Tvorchy zastosovuvaty marksyst-s'ko-lenins'ku teoriyu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 1, 1956, no.66, 2.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.22.

<sup>3</sup> APNPU, f.2, op.T, Tereshchenko Ivan Ivanovych, ark.25.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.26.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.P-19, op.1, spr. 228, ark.157.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.24.

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“devoted to the Lenin-Stalin case<sup>1</sup>”, noted: “They called for criticism, for self-criticism, and in actual fact only ordinary people could be criticized. And if someone criticized Stalin, then he would have died as it was normal”<sup>2</sup>.

No less polarized was the vision of the issue of informing the students. There was still a spirit of warning in the air, which forced many to restrain the pressure of those who sought a full open exchange of views with youth. Speaker Zakhar Borsuk was the most conservative in his views, recommending not to hurry with a report readings at a student meeting until that issue had been fully discussed at the party meetings.

But 5 active members of the meeting who had the opportunity to express their own opinions (45% of those present at the meeting) explained the need to establish contact with students on this issue. So, Mykola Rizun emphasized that many students as well as teachers did not understand what was happening, and therefore needed a special explanation. Mariya Malych stood on the common positions. She, advocating the reworking of teaching the entire course of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, imbued with the cult of Stalin, said: “The bulk of our students correctly accepted the documents of the congress. It was a big breakthrough in the students’ lives, because they were brought up at a time when they encountered Stalin’s cult at every step. We need to do a lot for the students to survive this fracture well and least painfully<sup>3</sup>”.

The same “correct understanding” was mentioned by the lecturers of other pedagogical institutes of the country, for example in Stanislav SPI<sup>4</sup>. The students of Kharkiv universities, on the contrary, were afraid to talk about Stalin’s personality cult, for “what was said that day could be regarded negatively after some time”<sup>5</sup>. Actually. The same feeling were observed in Poltava as well. Thus, the student Vysotskyi showed that some part of the youth did not speak absolutely anything about the problems of person’s cult because of some fears. Apparently, the mechanisms of self-preservation were still functioning because of the possible consequences of expressing their own thoughts on such ideologically controversial issues.

The Director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos was interested in getting acquainted with the positions of his students. Summing up the report, he noticed

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<sup>1</sup> APNPU, f.2, op. B, spr.Berezovs'kyi Vasyl' Pavlovych, ark.10.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark. 24.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark. 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> TsDAVO, f.166, op.15, spr.1879, ark.118.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Holovanenko Oleksandr Makarovych (4.04.2010), 1 ark.

that they had to take more seriously the study of students' thoughts about the person's cult. At the same time, while retaining the activity of the party organization of the University in the wake of the activities of the Communist Party, he proposed to start an educational work among young people – “so that there would be no misconceptions”<sup>1</sup>. That was normal flow of the things: the lecturers of Kharkiv SPIFL offered to explain the youth the cult as well, because “they listened to the slanders of the enemies of socialism”<sup>2</sup>.

The anti-cult meetings also shook the bases of the science in the pedagogical institutes. The lecturers openly showed great dissatisfaction with the situation when new works were not allowed to print. Borys Lozovskyi named it “present Arakcheev regime” (a reactionary regime of oppression, however, it was Joseph Stalin to use that term in 1950 for the first time in description of the atmosphere created by Ivan Meshchaninov in the Soviet Institute of Language and Thought). But now it was explained as a remnant of Stalin's times, when, according to the teacher, “for some reason, they thought that only Stalin could say true and something new, and looked at people who tried to say something their own as at sleep-walkers”<sup>3</sup>.

However, when the changes in science came they were mostly ideological. Thus, previously, students-philologists of Poltava used to find out the depiction of Stalin in folklore, and after the XX Congress they begins to look for the same portrayal of the friendship of peoples of the USSR<sup>4</sup>. The presence of Stalin in all fields of study even made five post-graduate students postpone their receiving of Candidate of sciences degrees. Their works were returned for refinement “in the light of new events” in June<sup>5</sup>.

The press instructed in overcoming the remnants associated with the cult of the person: “The party teaches that in carrying out this large and complex work we cannot allow the squall and hasty. It would be wrong to imagine that it is enough to take some administrative measures and it will be done with the cult of a person once and forever”<sup>6</sup>. Although it was the administrative measures of pressure on certain employees and promoted by the secretary of the party organization of

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.26.

<sup>2</sup> DAKhO, f.R-1780, op.3, spr. 495, ark.4.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark.25.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.534, ark.29zv.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.553, ark.37.

<sup>6</sup> “Chomu kul't osoby chuzhyy dukhovi marksyzmu-leninizmu?”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, may 30, 1956, no.64, 2-3.



Poltava SPI Mykola Rizun as most effective in combating their “wrong” understanding of the eradication of the phenomenon of person’s cult<sup>1</sup>.

Little time passed after the publication of the decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU, as the Ministry of Education of the USSR sent an order #555 of July 3, “On Teaching the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, political economy, dialectical and historical materialism in the high schools of the USSR<sup>2</sup>”. As the center said, the work was not carried out satisfactory, it was worth explaining the educators once more how to fight the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin. And the educators listened to. We see it in the texts of lectures and in their articles in the press.

For example, Poltava educator Sofiya Kahan, while lecturing on Yugoslavia, quoted Khrushchev more than 10 times, never having spoken of Stalin, only saying that as a result of certain circumstances, there were observed the dismemberments of normal, friendly relations (in all previous variants of the lecture Stalin was at the head of the table)<sup>3</sup>. There were even more radical turns. Her colleague Stepan Danishev told students that “in the last year, Stalin inhibited the development of the USSR<sup>4</sup>”. The lecturers in Hlukhiv SPI openly spoke about the “dissolving of Joseph Stalin” – not about the amorphous cult of personality<sup>5</sup>. The anti-cult parts became obligatory in the public lectures of the teachers of SPIs. For example, in August, the Department of History of Poltava SPI held the meetings in Kotelva and Karlivka districts with on the topic “Demonstration of the role of the masses” accenting the difference in the new Party line<sup>6</sup>. While the Poltava regional library officially cleaned its fund from Stalinist cursed literature, “so that no book could be left on the shelves<sup>7</sup>”, the teachers were waiting for a new textbook without a crop of obesity, asking the center how to describe the life of other leaders Aleksandr Nevsky, Aleksandr Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov<sup>8</sup>.

It was a long and tiring process. For example, it took half a year to painstakingly free the courses from the presence of Stalin in Kharkiv SPI<sup>9</sup>. And during this time, the history department of Poltava SPI was checked zillions of

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.4829, ark. 20zv.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.232, ark.81.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.555, ark.381.

<sup>4</sup> Danishev, Stepan. “Pro pryrodu suspil’noho sotsialistychnoho ladu v SRSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, August 2, 1956, no.165, 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.203, ark.4.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.594, ark.16.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5883, ark.33.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3919, ark.73.

<sup>9</sup> DAKhO, f.R-4293, op.2, spr.686, ark.6.

times on the processing the lectures in the light of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress. Twice this was done by the director, Mykhaylo Semyvolos, 34 times – by the dean of the department Hryhoriy Kulyk, and 8 times by the Ministerial inspector – the assistant professor of the Kharkiv Pedagogical Institute Mr. Frisman<sup>1</sup>.

The lecturers justly noted that it was really difficult to re-build their own consciousness but not only the texts of lectures, especially for the teachers of literature and history<sup>2</sup>. However, even economists were forced to deliver speeches on the Stalin's mistakes in the understanding of the economic theory<sup>3</sup> and lawyers – on the misreading of the Soviet Constitution<sup>4</sup>. And, by the way, in 1956, the population for the first time spoke of the Constitution as of the Soviet but not as of Stalinist one.

### 1957: CONDEMNED OR JUSTIFIED?

After the burst out of the XX Congress, there was a strange back up seen in the pages of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia published in January. Stalin was represented there as the most prominent figure in the Russian and international labor movement. The article said:

*“His name is inseparable from Marxism-Leninism, and it will be the most flagrant distortion of the historical truth to spread the mistakes made by Stalin in his last years of his life, on all his multi-year party and state activities”*<sup>5</sup>

Even Khrushchev made a step back as if fearing that the wave of criticism could wipe out the Soviet State itself. The leader tried to control the activity of cult-fighters. During his speech in Chelyabinsk, Nikita Sergeevich puzzled the nation with a statement rehabilitating Stalin's memory in some way:

*“An erroneous interpretation of Stalin's personality cult negatively affected all levels: from the state down to the broad international arena. There were open charges of leading party leaders in ‘Stalinism’, which gave the impression that*

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.553, ark.22-26.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4025, ark.31.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-12, op.1, spr.733, ark.168, ark.236.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.554, ark.221-222.

<sup>5</sup> “Stalin Iosif Vissarionovich” in *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya [pod red. B.A. Vvedenskogo]* (Moskva: Gos. nauch. izdat. «BSE». T.40, 1957), 419-424.

*“the opponents of communism deliberately invented the word ‘Stalinists’ trying to make it a swearing word”<sup>1</sup>.*

Apparently, the combination of contradictions generated by the persecution of guilty in Stalin’s errors inside the country and the decrease of the status of the USSR among the socialist countries forced Nikita Khrushchev to stop the merciless assault on the deceased “leader of the peoples”. He made a statement controversial from the point of view of atheism: *“God, let each communist to fight as hard as Stalin fought”*. After that an alternative call was cast to the masses. From now on, people’s anger should have been directed not at Stalin himself but at *“the reactionary forces, and especially the aggressive forces of imperialism”*, who *“never stopped their efforts to rein back ... moving forward, hindering the success of the construction of socialism in the USSR”<sup>2</sup>.*

The ambivalence of this state position reflected in the life of pedagogical institutes of the country as well. “Slight whitening” of Stalin’s deeds by Khrushchev echoed during the interuniversity conference of teachers of the history of pedagogical institutes of the UkrSSR on February 26-27. Form the one hand, the host of the event, the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos finished his opening speech with the statement of need to review the teaching of history in the light of the decisions of the XX Congress. The teachers of the institute under the management of Ivan Chuprun proposed a new studying program for the pedagogical universities of the republic. It sharply raised the question of combating the relics of Stalin’s presence in the educational process. However, there was no unanimity during the discussion. Thus, the teacher of Lutsk SPI Sukharyov said that the emphasis on overcoming the cult of Joseph Vissarionovich’s personality in the program “smeared his well-known and historical merits”. Therefore, he proposed not to identify Stalin with the theoretical notion of personality cult.

His colleague Hrinberh from Stalino SPI showed a striking example of adaptation and finding a “middle” position while reviewing the plans of Poltava teachers. Probably, Stalin’s image was deeply entangled in the minds of historians who did not want to get rid of what they had believed in for many years convincing dozens of people. Hrinberh even suggested not paying any attention in the lectures to “such a trifle” as a false TASS message before the beginning of the German-Soviet war. Regarding Stalin himself, he suggested to speak about the victory of the

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<sup>1</sup> “Promova tovarysha M.S Khrushchova (vruchennya ordena Lenina Chelyabins’kiy oblasti)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 20, 1957, no.14, 2.

<sup>2</sup> “Promova tovarysha V. M. Molotova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 20, 1957, no.14, 1.

Communist Party headed by Stalin – “as Khrushchev did in his speeches”<sup>1</sup>. The teacher Tolpyhin from the Crimean SPI also stood at the positions that Stalin’s mistakes did not play a decisive role in the course of the Second World war. He proposed not to combine the cult with the post-war reconstruction asking not to sharpen the attention of students at it. In the end, the representative of the Ministry Vasyuta summed up:

*“Stalin’s mistakes should be shown in such a way as not to lead to an understanding that there were mere errors or that these mistakes had any direction not in the interests of the country of socialism, in order not to have any misinterpretation”<sup>2</sup>.*

When the USSR faced the new political scandal connected with the Anti-Party group of Malenkov, the question of Stalin’s image rose one more time. Not surprisingly the late dictator received a chance to be justified for all his missteps because the people received new enemies who could be blamed for everything instead “beloved Vozhd”. The teachers of SPIs were among those frankly campaigning for resuscitation of Joseph Stalin’s memory. Thus, Poltava educator Mykola Rizun accused Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich of organizing political repressions of the Great purge during 1937-1938. Particularly, he talked about their involvement in the murder of the prominent military leaders. One of these conversations was connected with the memory of Iona Yakir. He was one of the main military leaders in the struggle to establish Soviet power in Ukraine assigned the commander of the Ukrainian Military District after the victory of the Bolsheviks. Having held the position of the commander of the Kyiv (1935) and Leningrad Military District (1937), he was arrested and executed according to the personal order of Stalin. But Poltava lecturer Rizun mentioned that “Comrade Stalin talked with Yakir and had a positive opinion about him. Molotov, Kaganovich convinced Stalin that Yakir was the enemy of the people”<sup>3</sup>. Another lecturer Mykola Chuprun also saw the blood of Marshals Mikhail Tukhachevsky and Vasily Blyukher on the hands of the Anti-party trio. The history teacher Vasyl Kostenko accused the group of “Beria’s sidekicks” of numerous crimes of the Stalin era saying that they committed them hiding after the authority of the dictator.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.598, ark.1, 222, 234

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.598,ark.242

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 4830, ark. 30

It was a norm if even the First Secretary Khrushchev resorted to the policy of “bleaching” his former friend and teacher, saying that “enemies” “hid ... great disadvantages, being engaged in eye-emulations”. He named Kaganovich, the one “who scavenged”, as a guilty of blurring the cult of Stalin’s personality<sup>1</sup>. Nikita Sergeevich openly talked about the innocence of Joseph Vissarionovich, about his helplessness and his ability to blindly follow others’ opinions. That became a great justification for the deceased leader of the peoples.

On the behalf of the falsity of charges against Stalin talked the fact that his works were still widely promoted. Thus, the regional press advertised his edition “About Lenin” published in 1953<sup>2</sup>. And the philosopher from Poltava SPI still recommended 12 books by Stalin in his lectures to the citizens of the regional center while working in the Society “Knowledge”<sup>3</sup>.

Such double standards were one more welcomed after the All-Union council of the social sciences departments in Moscow in spring of 1957. Reporting to his colleagues in Kharkiv SPI, lecturer Ivan Chestnov explained that the works of Stalin were wrongly criticized after the XX Congress. They still were considered to be Marxist works. The educator mentioned that no one after Stalin covered similar issues in his works even counting at some artificial exaggeration of Stalin’s merits. His colleague Fedir Dniprovyyi supported the speech of Professor Naida re-telling the teachers the ideas about positive place of Stalin in the Soviet history as of a prominent statesman and politician<sup>4</sup>.

Was it a defeat of the cult struggle?

From one side, we can say that it was so. We see it in some life stories of educators. Thus, the teacher of Kyiv SPI Mykhaylo Marchenko right after the XX Congress in 1956 said that “between the years 1917-1956 we hadn’t stepped far because these years were associated with the cult of personality”<sup>5</sup>. The historian was immediately accused of being hostile towards the Soviet order and its culture<sup>6</sup>, and was eventually expelled from the party as a hostile element<sup>7</sup>. The situation in 1957 seemed not to change a lot. When the teacher Kuts from Drohobych SPI tried

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<sup>1</sup> Khrushchev, Mykyta. “Za tisnyy zv'yazok literatury i mystetstva z zhyttyam narodu”. *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 1, 1957, no.173, 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> “V mahazynakh knyhtorhu ta spozhyvchoyi kooperatsiyi ye v prodazhu knyhy rosiys'koyu movoyu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 22, 1957, no.57, 4.

<sup>3</sup> DAKO, f.R-6829, op.1, spr.66, ark.128-130.

<sup>4</sup> DAKhO, f.R-4293, op.2, spr.755, ark.153-154

<sup>5</sup> DAKO, f.P-485, op.4, spr.15, ark.14

<sup>6</sup> DAKO, f.P-485, op.4.spr.16, ark.5

<sup>7</sup> DAKO, f.P-485, op.4, spr.21, ark.8.

to mock the cult of Stalin in his lectures, he was strictly his condemned by his colleagues<sup>1</sup>. Another fact of the ideological fluctuation is seen in the inner documentation of Marxism-Leninism sub-department of Poltava SPI. We find the text written by the head of the department Dmytro Stepanov in the beginning of 1957, praising his colleague Ivan Kostenko for the skillful use of Stalin's works on the foundations of Leninism, where Joseph Vissarionovich defended Leninism from the Trotskyites. However, the political winds were likely to change very quickly. The skillful hand of the unknown proofreader colored that note with the velvet inks of another color. Already in some time we see that the crossed text was re-printed one more time: the head of the department was forced to repeat the praising commentary referring to Stalin<sup>2</sup>.

From the other side, the criticism of the cult of personality in 1957 survived in some concealed kind. Educators moved the stone of criticism up the hill without naming the source of all troubles. For example, Poltava associate professor Ivan Kostenko, while reading lectures about the rise of agriculture in the country, repeatedly appealed to the September Plenum of the Central Committee of 1953. Almost on each page we find critics of Stalin's program of the rural constructions construction proposed by the dictator at the February Plenum of 1947. However the lecturer never mentioned the name of Joseph Vissarionovich<sup>3</sup>. It was pretty common method. For example, in the movie "Unforgettable Years" released in 1957, they portrayed the life of the country after the death of Lenin. Stalin's figure was shown for rather long time on the screen, however, the speaker never named the dictator only saying that Lenin's case was extended by the Party<sup>4</sup>. That was a new rule: ban the ideas – not the leaders. No one could be sure what could be the destiny of his memory after the next Party Plenum. Sometimes they even called Stalin "the relic of the past" that remained in the minds of students<sup>5</sup>.

Step by step, that "ideological relic" left even the autobiographies of the educators. For example, the characteristics of the head of the department of Marxism-Leninism in Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov in June of 1957 word-for-word duplicated his own characteristics printed in 1952. But in all places where 5 years ago he was named "a faithful follower of Stalin and his policy" a new description appears: "a loyal to the Communist Party". He also changed the

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<sup>1</sup> DAKO, f.P-485, op.4, spr.21, ark.34.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.594, ark.1-2.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.599, ark.167.

<sup>4</sup> *Nezabyvayemyye gody (Skvoz' gody mchas')* (Directed by: Kopalín Í.,1957)

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.588, ark.26.

formulation of his achievements as a boss. Five years ago he forced the transformation of all study programs “in the light of Stalin’s ingenious works”, but in 1957 he was doing it already “in the light of the latest decisions of the Government of the USSR”<sup>1</sup>.

During the preparations for the celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Party surprised the citizens one more time with its inconsistency and unpredictability. The campaign of shaking a pedestal under Stalin, announced officially a year ago, was laid behind the Thesis “For the forty’s anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (1917-1957)” of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. It included some condemnation of Joseph Stalin’s work for the future: “to prevent the possibility of repeating such mistakes” which was declared one of the main points in the celebration of the Great October<sup>2</sup>. But in further publications of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the situation turned out to be fundamentally the opposite. On the one hand, depicting the Communist Party as a “leader, inspirer and organizer of the victories of the Soviet people”, the list of recommended literature included resolutions of plenum sessions of the Central Committee of the CPSU “On Overcoming the Cult of Person and Its Consequences” and “On the Anti-Party Group of G. Malenkov, L. Kaganovich, and V. Molotov”<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the consideration of the tasks of the Soviet people in the struggle for communism were still based on the “classical works” of Stalin (“Speech at the pre-election assembly of the Stalin electoral district of Moscow on February 9, 1946”). Outlining the new vision of the Great Patriotic War where Stalin played lesser and lesser role, the Institute... strongly relied on tyrant’s works “On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union” and “The 27th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution”. Sometimes it became absurd to see how the ideologists in the same recommendation referred to the latest document that criticized Joseph Vissarionovich<sup>4</sup> and to his “Report of the XVII Party Congress on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b)”<sup>5</sup>.

However, not looking at those discrepancies, the educators moved to the purifying their lectures from the sediment of the cult of personality. Kharkiv

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<sup>1</sup> APNPU, op. S-2, spr. Stepanov Dmytro Vasyl’ovych, ark.52.

<sup>2</sup> “Do sorokarichchya Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi sotsialistychnoyi revolyutsiyi (1917-1957). Tezy viddilu propahandy i ahitatsiyi TsK KPRS ta Instytutu marksyzmu-leninizmu pry TsK KPRS”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 17, 1957, no.185, 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> “Prymirnyy navchal’nyy plan zanyat’ “, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 9, 1957, no.201, 2.

<sup>4</sup> “Na dopomohu propahandystam”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 28, 1957, no.193, 1.

<sup>5</sup> “Prymirnyy navchal’nyy plan zanyat’ ”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 5, 1957, no.197, 4.

teachers spent summer of 1957 rewriting the manuals for their students, building up new descriptions of the historical events<sup>1</sup>. Stalin steadily vanished from the leading scientific works across the country. The jubilee session of Poltava SPI dedicated to the 40th anniversary of Soviet Ukraine in Ukraine together with the Scientific Institute of Literature and the Institute of Linguistics left no mentions of Stalin as a unifier of Ukrainian lands or the initiator of the new Ukrainian statehood as it was common just a year before<sup>2</sup>. Stalin's heritage also disappeared from the topics of the scientific research works of the teachers. It will be more correct to say that it shifted: now they studied the Communist Party where Stalin once was named an organizer and inspirer<sup>3</sup>. They even revised the titles of students' course works elimination Stalin and placing Lenin and the role of the masses where it was possible<sup>4</sup>.

Why did it happen after a strange period of double standards? May be, because Party leaders themselves were still hesitating what they wanted to do with the memory of their predecessor. And in the end of 1957 one more time changed the direction of the ideological winds. Then Khrushchev made the reformers feel free:

*“The Party did not hesitate to lead the struggle against the cult of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, a cult that seriously damaged the work of the Party and the business of communist construction”<sup>5</sup>.*

Columns of protesters in November 1957 on Stalin Street ("The Dawn of Poltava Region", 1957)

### 1958: “THE EPOCH OF HONESTY”

The previous year campaign against anti-party group was named “a strike blow to Stalin's Guard” by the American historian Merle Fainsod<sup>6</sup>. Nikita Khrushchev cleared the state Olympus from the people associated with the long-gone regime. He himself tried to be portrayed as a reformer but not as a former

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<sup>1</sup> DAKhO, f.R-4293, op.2, spr.740, ark.28.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.615, ark.5.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 241, ark.23.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.593, ark.11.

<sup>5</sup> “Promova M.S. Khrushchova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 24, 1957, no.252, 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> Fainsod, Merle. “What happened to “Collective Leadership?”” in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism [Edited by Abraham Brumberg]* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 106.



dictator's disciple. That was seen in the documentaries used by the educators in the studying process in 1958. Among the films, we find the one named "Unforgettable years". It shows the life of the country after the death of Lenin. And when Stalin's figure was shown on the screen for some time, however, the speaker never called his name, only saying that Lenin's deeds were extended by the Party<sup>1</sup>. In the flow of the anti-cult struggle that meant that it was continued by "the best Leninist Nikita Khrushchev".

No-one spoke about the revival of a new leader's cult. But everyone heard that the self-criticism was once more proclaimed the main tool of de-Stalinization. However, even two years after the exposure of Stalin's crimes, people didn't know what exactly they should condemn. For example, the secretary of the party committee of Kryukiv carriage warehouse L. Sharypina noted:

*"Stalin was a courageous, talented Marxist, but found himself out of criticism, committed gross mistakes, about which it was said in the materials of the XX Congress of the CPSU"*<sup>2</sup>.

We can assume that people felt the need of critics under the pressure of liberal atmosphere but found little facts except given by the Party two years ago to judge their former "party god". And the country really demanded educators make firm steps in the de-masking Stalin. The authorities urged the Soviet intelligentsia "to continue to perform their duty to the people honestly"<sup>3</sup>. The explanation of the "new honesty" was simple: the educators had to promote historical significance of the XX Congress, explaining its invaluable contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which should help them in the communist construction.

The epoch of the "honesty" for the pedagogical institutes started with the revision of the ideological sub-departments. Thus, the Ministry of Education issued an order "On the work of Horlivka Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages" on January 16, 1958. It drew attention to the fact that the cabinet of Marxism-Leninism was all decorated with visual aids designed according to the course of the history of the CPSU (b) which was the declared outdated. And the walls of the cabinet even years after the XX Congress were still imbued with the cult of Joseph

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<sup>1</sup> Nezabyvayemyye gody (Skvoz' gody mchas') (Directed by: Kopalín Í., 1957)

<sup>2</sup> Sharypina, L.P. "Krashche vykorystovuaty zbroyu krytyky", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 19, 1958, no.59, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Zvernennya Tsentral'noho Komitetu Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans'koho Soyuzu do vsikh vybortsiv – do robotnykiv i robotnyts', selyan i selyanok, do radyans'koyi intelihentsiyi, do voyiniv Radyans'koyi Armiyi i Viys'kovo-Mors'koho Flotu", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 9, 1958, no.29, 1-2.

Stalin. The same thing happened while examining the rooms of pedagogy and phonetics of the institute<sup>1</sup>. To reveal such ideological gaps, the Ministry started the “cruise of delegations”. Since April, the teachers visited different SPIs checking their level of ideological strength. Thus, the teachers of Poltava SPI went to Stalino Pedagogical Institute<sup>2</sup>. They even received the special “Official reminder” on describing their anti-cult check-ups. The number one issue was the revision of curriculum plans in the light of the XX Congress and the changes in the texts of lectures.

But it was sometimes hard to make changes without correct landmarks. Educators were learnt that any written word should go along with the strict party line if they wanted to have no problems working in the ideological institutions. But the recommendations were absent. So, many of them, even up to 1958, left the texts of lectures untouched. Situation was changing slowly despite the wish of the State.

Most of the decisions gave little facts except the statements of the great importance of the struggle with the cult of personality. For example, the Scientific Session on the Development of the Humanities in the UkrSSR which took place in Kyiv in June of 1958 also didn't help the teachers. They once again heard that the decision of the XX Congress was of great importance for the development of science<sup>3</sup>. No doubt that the lecturers reported to the center in the same manner: with lack of facts but with the flood of ideological statements. For instance, the sub-department of History of Poltava SPI informed that the process of highlighting the role of the masses in the historical process became more scientific according to the decision of the XX congress<sup>4</sup>.

The first real help came up with the publication of a new “History of the Civil War in the USSR” in June of 1958. The teacher of Poltava SPI Stepan Danishev noted its necessity, since all the previous editions (1936, 1938, and 1943) significantly strengthened the role of Stalin and reduced the role of the Party<sup>5</sup>. However, not only the pace of re-writing the exemplary books was slow but also the access to the new literature was limited. Thus, the teachers, being one more

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<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.263, ark.2.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.609, ark.12-14.

<sup>3</sup> “Za lenins'ku ideynist' suspil'nykh nauk (naukova sesiya z pytan' rozvytku humanitarnykh nauk v URSR)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, Juune 4, 1958, no.109, 2.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.639, ark.24.

<sup>5</sup> Danishev, Stepan. “Nova pratsya z istoriyi hromadyans'koyi viyny v SRSR”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 13, 1958, no.115, 1.

time criticized for a weak cult-struggle, mentioned that they still didn't have new textbooks on the Party History working with the one published by Stalin in 1938<sup>1</sup>.

In 1958, the state also started the offensive actions towards the aesthetic ideals of Stalinist era. The decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On Correction of Mistakes in the Evaluation of the Opera "Great Friendship", "Bohdan Khmelnytsky" and "From a Sincere Heart" was published on May 28, 1958. It emphasized the positive influence of Vano Muradeli's opera "Great friendship" on the development of socialist realism along with the work of Kostyantyn Dankevych "Bohdan Khmelnytsky". Even though some years ago the artists were accused of manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and misunderstanding of the tasks of socialist realism. The new party document explained the reason for the previous anathema by Stalin's subjective approach to individual works of art. Of course, with a very negative influence of V. Molotov, G. Malenkov and L. Beria<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, this resolution was unanimously approved during the negotiations at the Ministry of Culture of the USSR<sup>3</sup>. The educators fluently reacted adding the comments to the courses on Ukrainian literature read to the students. Stalin's words, once been truth, turned into the whims of an old mind of the dictator.

However, even that time of "revealing failures", had ambivalent trends. From the one hand, Stalin's cult was removed from the theory – step by step. From the other, the real was too tightly knit to the memory of the late tyrant. It seemed that no day passed without mentioning his name in the press – even in hidden way. For example, the mass media still bore his name. Even more, newspaper "The Stalinist tribe" was awarded the Letter of Honors of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR<sup>4</sup>. His name was recalled during Victory Day while glorifying Stalin's Armored Troops on the Red Square<sup>5</sup>. Even central streets of the big cities – the pride of the mega policies – were named after the dictator<sup>6</sup>. That left its trace in the perception of the former ruler of the USSR. For example, almost each publication in press about the extracurricular activities of Poltava students in the city mentioned

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5267, ark.70.

<sup>2</sup> "Pro vypravlennya pomylok v otsyntsi oper «Velyka druzhba», «Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi» i «Vid shchyroho sertsya». Postanova TsK KPRS vid 28 travnya 1958 roku", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 10, 1958, no.113, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "U Ministerstvi kul'tury SRSR", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 10, 1958, no.113, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Ukaz Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrayins'koyi RSR «Pro nahorodzhennya hazety «Stalins'ke plem'ya» Pochesnoyu Hramotoyu Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi rady URSR)", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 5, 1958, no.110, 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Viys'kovyy parad i demonstratsiya trudyashchykh na Krasniy ploshchi", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 11, 1958, no.221, 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Vaynhort, Lev. "Zhovtnevyi rayon", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 13, 1958, no.137, 4.

the name of Stalin. The educators were fighting the cult built took part in the landscaping of ... Stalin Street<sup>1</sup>. Even celebrating the success of Khrushchev's era, marching with three giant models of the Sputnik and the ballistic missile with the inscription "Glory to Soviet science!", the educators went along good old Stalin Street<sup>2</sup>.

### **1959-1960: IDEOLOGICAL BALANCING**

The year of 1959 was marked by the XXI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow from January, 27 to February, 5. As Yuriy Aksyutin remembered, people expected that Khrushchev would continue the offensive tread towards the cult of Stalin during an extraordinary Party meeting<sup>3</sup>. However, the Congress only considered and approved the seven-year plan for the development of the national economy and proclaimed the accession of the Soviet Union in the period of the extensive construction of communism.

Thus, in 1959, the Communist State found itself on the boundary of two worlds. The one struggled with the cult of personality in any possible way. Another one tried to hide its former love to the strong hand now considered tyrannical and evil. This ambivalence is easily traced in the everyday of educators. Surely, we see that in 1959 they no longer feared to argue about the unrestricted Stalinist repression. Thus, we see that even in everyday conflicts people started to use parallels with Stalin's repressions as an ordinary epithet. For example, S. Kaftaryan of Sumy SPI told to his critic I. Krasnopolskyi: "If such remarks had been expressed in 1937, the lecturer would have been already imprisoned"<sup>4</sup>.

They started a new winter semester with the succeeding mass seizure of literature according to the order of the Main Department for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in the Press under the Council of Ministers of the USSR. This campaign primarily was connected with the heritage of the Anti-party group dethroned two years ago. The educators rushed to extract from the libraries of their institutes brochures, books and portraits of G. Malenkov, L. Kaganovich, V. Molotov, N. Bulganin and D. Shepilov. However, when we look through the attached list, we see the hidden agenda – the attempt to remove the memory of

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<sup>1</sup> Selishchev, O. "Rukamy poltavchan", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 11, 1958, no.221, 3

<sup>2</sup> "Svyatkovi dni na Poltavshchyni", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 23, 1958, no.229, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Aksyutin, Yuriy. "Khrushchev protiv Stalina", *Trud*, November 13, 1988, no.262, .4.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.252, ark.116.

Stalin even farther to the back. Among these works we find “Stalin’s Charter” by D. Shepilov, “Stalin and Councils” by N. Bulganin and “Comrade Stalin” by G. Malenkov. The librarians of Hlukhiv SPI got rid of 253 copies of books with 38 different “cult” titles<sup>1</sup>. Half a year after, in July of 1959, they came closely to the new portion of papers by the dictator himself. It took four long years to fulfill the task issued by the Committee on Cultural and Mass Administration in the CC of the UkrSSR to remove from the public access such Stalin’s compositions as “Two Years of the Patriotic War”, “The Year of the Great Fracture”, “The Speech in front of the Soviet Collective Farmers” and others. However, one should count that among that long list there was even a paper by the main cult-fighter N. Khrushchev “Annual report of the year 1949”<sup>2</sup>. No one deleted thick volumes of Stalin’s works from the shelves. As well as no one tried to take him fully out of the studying process.

But it was really hard to swap the educational literature with the new ideologically sustained books. Meanwhile, in July of 1959, a new history of the CPSU was published. The work was immediately presented as “an example of a brave self-criticism ... that might serve as an open statement by the Party about the harsh consequences of the cult of the person of the J. V. Stalin”<sup>3</sup>. We find out that Poltava SPI historians openly rushed to revise their own texts of lectures according to the new provisions. They proudly mentioned that, unlike the 1938 edition, the new version of the party history had already lost its mention of Stalin or even the “twin-name” of the Lenin-Stalin party not only on the front page but also all over the text<sup>4</sup>. Lenin one more time became the only genius standing even higher than Marx and Engels.

Finally, in June of 1960, an event has occurred, which, perhaps, should have happened immediately after XX Party Congress. We will speak about so-called Stalin’s scholarship – the highest prize for the best students of the institutes. Bearing the name of the dictator, it subconsciously influenced the youth. The one whose name was given to the greatest award in the scholar achievements could not be a villain. We see that the state paid little attention to that before the year 1960. The Ministry of Education regularly issued orders urging to assign the sums of Stalin’s stipends to the pedagogical youth. They did it in the fateful 1956 after the

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<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 292, ark.1-3.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.292, ark.4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Petryakov, H. “Heroyichnyy shlyakh Lenins’koyi partiyi (do vykhodu pidruchnyka «Istoriya Komunistychnoyi partiyi Radyans’koho Soyuzu»)” *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 10, 1959, no.134, 2.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.673, ark.12.

exposure of the XX Congress<sup>1</sup>. The authorities continued issuing “Stalin’s money” to the educators in 1957, once again criticizing his cult during the case of Anti-Party group<sup>2</sup>. The totalitarian state did not think about it and years after: in 1958<sup>3</sup> as well as in 1959 still requesting the lists of the applicants<sup>4</sup>. It is important to understand that Stalin’s studentship traditionally was issued to the best ones mostly out of the last years of studying<sup>5</sup>. The nominees went through the rough selection not to tarnish the honor of the Stalinist laureate<sup>6</sup>. But the time of changes had come at last.

We need to say, however, that the original order was issued by the Council of Ministers of the USSR in March of 1960. However, the Ukrainian authorities reacted with a three-month delay<sup>7</sup>. Anyway, the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR established a new order of awarding scholarship named after the prominent figures in science and technology, of the party and the state building. From now on, there were 12 nominal scholarships of 600 rubles. For example, Poltava SPI got a scholarship named after Volodymyr Korolenko. The same document established the scholarship of Vladimir Lenin of 800 rubles to the most prominent students which was even more than the former “superior” Stalin’s stipend. It seemed that the presence of Stalin even in the material part of student’s everyday reached its end. It could be so if there was not just one “but”. Among the list of 12 registered scholarships, there were 2 ... named after Stalin. They were attached to the Crimean and Drohobych pedagogical institutes, though their size was reduced to 600 rubles. Thus Stalin was ranked in a row with other “honored and respected”<sup>8</sup>.

However, except that sphere, Stalin was still present in the study process as a source of knowledge. But his “presence” in the courses was already deprived of the “divinity”. He appeared as a living being with fallacies and misdeeds. Thus, starting a lecture on World War II, Poltava historian Mykola Rizun used Stalin’s speech on July 3, 1941, and argues the leader about the 24th anniversary of the October Revolution. But the students are told about dictator’s faults: his underestimation of the military and political situation before the war, the lack of a

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.517,ark.66.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.254, ark. 55.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.680, ark.1.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 290, ark.18.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.284, ark.94.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.655, ark.84-88.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.699, ark.29.

<sup>8</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.699, ark.29-31.

reaction at the reporting on the possible attack, and the falsity of the Russian News Agency TASS statement of June 14, 1941, in which the announcements of the western press about the beginning of the war of Germany with the USSR were refuted<sup>1</sup>.

The strong blow to the cult of Stalin was mentioned by us in the practice of Sumy SPI in June of 1960. The management of the institute banned to recommend Stalin's works on linguistics and on economic problems to the students. They even re-shaped the study programs of the departments. Thus, the philologists threw away the topic "Stalin on the development of the universal literary language from the time of Pushkin<sup>2</sup>". They even recanted to the re-examination of former student scientific works. For example, they revised thesis of the fourth-year student Leonid Trushechkin "Red Guard in Sumy Region". The editors crossed out with a red pencil all paragraphs with Stalin's quotes. Although, they forgot to cross the works by the dictator in the list of references<sup>3</sup>.

That is a great example that allows us to speak about the "resuscitation" of the image of a strong leader Stalin. The lecturers not only continued to propose his works on October Socialist Revolution or the history of the Ukrainian Soviet Republics to their students<sup>4</sup>. The educators themselves were in situation of criticism for the diminishing of late dictator's role in the historical process. That happened to Mariya Malych in Poltava SPI while discussing her lecture about the eighth party congress and the work of Lenin "The Childish Disease of Left-handedness in Communism". Her Ivan Popyk directly asked why the lecturer paid too little attention to Stalin's thesis "On the Question of Leninism". He argued that teachers should have applied it more broadly, although the current program didn't require it any more. Even the young assistant Borys Kuznyak, who was often accused of political immaturity, reprobated that "it was better to show Stalin's role in the political processes of those times"<sup>5</sup>.

Already in February of 1960, the woman "corrected" her "wrong attitude". While analyzing her lecture on "The theory and program of the Communist Party on the national question", we see that along with the exaltation of Lenin, Stalin was not criticized any more. He just "went one step downward", becoming a successor who didn't obscure his genius teacher. This was noticed by her colleagues as well.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.681, ark.203-213.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.205, ark.48-54.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.338, ark.6; 22.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.681, ark.323.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.729, ark.7.

The lecturer Mykola Rizun noted as a positive side that Mariya Malych emphasized that Lenin laid the foundations for national issues, and Stalin “collected, and systematized that material”<sup>1</sup>. That was a new strategy of cult-fighting: hide your love to the strong hand of Joseph Vissarionovich behind the admiration of the great mind of Vladimir Illich.

Seeing no signs of an active state struggle with the cult, educators slowly turned back to the honoring the “coryphaeus”. For example, Sumy teachers hurriedly changed their point of view on the new edition of Party History published in 1959. If at first they stated that “the book provided more favorable conditions” for the education<sup>2</sup> they shifted to the critics already in spring of 1960. The teachers said that Stalin’s papers were much better in many respects: for example, they had superior formulations for ‘production’. The scientists even openly reported to the scientific councils that their research papers were sometimes completely based on Stalin’s works<sup>3</sup>.

One of the most harsh examples of the dead end in which the cult struggle came into was a situation with Dmytro Stepanov – the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI. In 1960, he delivered a lecture “Society and Person”, tracing and condemning the cult of Stalin. But it met the resistance among the staff. The most striking was the speech by Petro Mudrachenko, who noticed that Stepanov was wrong in many ways, accusing Stalin of all sins. He persisted the colleagues that the late leader was not guilty of violating the principle of material interest of the population, as well as didn’t violate ... balance between the Society and Personality (!)<sup>4</sup>. And that was said after the XX Party Congress.

We see a constant interesting combination of loyalty to the former “teacher and father” and to the new Party course. In his lectures for the future teachers of physics in November of 1960, Poltava educator Mykola Rizun explained party’s struggle for the socialist reconstruction of the national economy. As a separate question, he offered an overview of the conditions of the spread of Stalin’s cult. At the same time, in the list of literature given to students, he presented the works by the criticized leader<sup>5</sup>. Another Poltava teacher, the head of the department of the Russian language, Volodymyr Savelyev, was delivering his lectures to the future philologists, as if Stalin had published his book about linguistics only six months

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.729, ark.29zv.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.241, ark.192.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.256, ark.21, 31.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.729, ark.53 (64)

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.741, ark.84-85.



ago. The famous work was at the top of the list of recommended literature. Moreover, looking through the text of his lecture, we find frequent appeals “as Stalin said...”<sup>1</sup>.

Historians also had similar fluctuations about Stalin’s presence in their lecture courses. So, in December of 1960, Poltavite Vasyl Loburets, informing young people about the history of the Soviet Union during the rebuilding period, hesitated if it was worthy talking about the role of Stalin in defending Leninism from the attacks of Trotsky. We see it in his notes. The scientist several times crossed that statement than returned it to the text of the lecture. At the end of his speech, he mildly completed the story with one “ideologically ambivalent” sentence:

*“You remember that a particularly great role in protecting the ideas of Lenin at this time was played by Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin<sup>2</sup>”.*

It was already the eight year without Stalin and fifth year of the struggle with his cult. But the ghost of “saint Joseph” was still somewhere near.

### 1961: THE FINAL EXPOSURE

Unexpectedly cardinal changes happened in 1961. It seemed that the country was awaiting for a overthrowing of the cult of personality and feeling the changes with every cell of their bodies. Surely, there still were signs of a traditional, imperial position towards Stalin’s memory. Thus, Leonid Brezhnev in his report at a solemn meeting in Moscow devoted to the 89th anniversary of the birth of Lenin in April tried to keep on the protective line mentioning that Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin had been standing in charge of the state for many years and under his management the Soviet people successfully implemented socialist industrialization<sup>3</sup>.

But looking at the sayings “at the bottom”, that looked like a voice of a lonely fan. The first half-year revealed new ideological idols – the Party and the contemporaries. Among the second, there appeared... young Cuban leader Fidel Castro who was named “the embodiment of justice, honesty and modesty” by

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.742, ark.1-3.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.742, ark.115.

<sup>3</sup> “Leninizm – velychnyy prapor borotby za torzhestvo komunizmu (Dopovid’ tovarysha Leonida Illicha Brezhnyeva na urochystomu zasidanni v Moskvi, prysvyachenomu 89 rkovynam z dnya narodzhennya Volodymyra Illicha Lenina)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 23, 1959, no.80, 1-2.

Poltava educators<sup>1</sup>. Since 1961, we mention steady growth of Party value in the political worldview of the Ukrainians. Stalin was sometimes presented as a person without his own will, being just party's executive. That idea was accented in the lectures in pedagogical SPIs in different topics. For example, Poltava historian Pavlo Denysovets, explaining the problem of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, drew attention to the fact that all speeches and decisions dictator during that period should be presented as the implementation of the directives of the Central Committee of the CPSU but not the act of someone's will<sup>2</sup>.

The last turning point in the change of educators' attitude towards Stalin was connected with the XXII Congress of the CPSU in 1961. The event, that took place in October, finally affirmed the citizens of the country in the thought that their government was not going to turn back from the combat with the cult of J. Stalin. In August of 1961, during the organized procedure of a discussion of a new Party Program that should have been voted at the Congress, Poltava historian Hryhoriy Kulyk noted: "Studying the Party Program, it is becoming more and more obvious, why it was so urgently necessary to get rid of the cult of a personality<sup>3</sup>".

In November of 1961, Khrushchev resented also to the elimination of Stalin's presence in geographic names. The special order started the procedure of re-naming. For example, Stalino Region in the UkrSSR was renamed in Donetsk "taking into consideration the wishes of the collectives of industrial enterprises, mines, buildings, state farms, collective farms, scientific institutions and educational institutions, as well as the request of public organizations"<sup>4</sup>. It gave some extra work to the educators. For example, the lecturers of Poltava SPI had to spend long days changing the names of cities and regions on the geographic maps and in each atlas present in the institute, operating with glue, scissors and paper.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most significant actions was the real "exposing ritual" conducted over the corpse of the late dictator. The body was taken away from the Mausoleum and buried near the Kremlin wall. The Central Committee of the CPSU motivated the reasons for these actions:

*"The Mausoleum on the Red Square near the Kremlin wall was created for perpetuating the memory of Vladimir Illich Lenin – the immortal founder of the*

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5235, ark.185.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.778, ark.54zv.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.1.

<sup>4</sup> "Ukaz Prezydiyi Verkhovnoyi Rady URSR «Pro pereymenuvannya Stalins'koyi oblasti i mista Stalino» vid 9 lystopada 1961 roku", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 10, 1961, no.227, 1.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.5-7zv.

*Communist Party and the Soviet state, the leader and teacher of working people around the world, should be further named “Mausoleum of Vladimir Illich Lenin”. We recognize as the inappropriate further storage of the sarcophagus with the coffin of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin in the Mausoleum, because the serious violations of Leninist wills by Stalin, the abuse of power, mass repressions against honest Soviet people, and other actions in the period of the person’s cult make it impossible to leave the coffin with his body in the Mausoleum<sup>1</sup>”.*

As Stanislav Kulchytskyi says, the Soviet society perceive this information without shock<sup>2</sup>. Representatives of all spheres joined the critics. It sounded even more powerful from the lips of the laureates of Stalin State Prizes. Thus, the writer Oleksandr Korniychuk praised the fact that the Central Committee did not fear in front of the whole world to throw away all rubbish accumulated under the cult of personality<sup>3</sup>.

The educators of higher pedagogical schools also were among the leaders in combating the cult of Stalin. They even strengthen their efforts in de-Stalinization of the consciousness of their students. So, the teachers of Odesa SPI, having already reduced to a minimum the list of the recommended papers by Stalin after the Twentieth CPSU Congress in 1956, after the XXII Congress, decided not to recommend leader’s works to their students at all. Their colleagues from Lviv expressed gladness that the struggle against the cult of a person deprived them of the need of “citation-mania” of Stalin’s works<sup>4</sup>.

The educators were moved to further changes by the speech of Nikita Khrushchev who said: “*we will not bring the dead back to life, but it is necessary that it will be truthfully told about it in the history of the party*<sup>5</sup>”.

That was a reason for the special session of the departments of History in the PSIs across the country right after the Congress. The secondary school teachers were also invited to such meetings held usually in the Regional Institutes for Advanced Training of Teachers. Such events in Poltava revealed that education

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<sup>1</sup> “Postanova XXII z’yizdu KPRS pro mavzoley Volodymyra Illicha Lenina. Shchodennyky XXII z’yizdu KPRS”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 31, 1961, no.220, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Kul’chyts’kyy, S. V. “Sproby reform (1956-1964) (1)” in *Ukrayins’kyy istorychnyy zhurnal*, 1998, no.2, 110.

<sup>3</sup> “Promova tovarysha O. Ye. Korniychuk Shchodennyky XXII z’yizdu KPRS”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 28, 1961, no.218, 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.253, ark.93, 17.

<sup>5</sup> “Zaklyuchne slovo pershoho sekretarya TsK KPRS tovarysha Mykyty Serhiyovycha Khrushchova na XXII z’yizdi KPRS 27 zhovtnya 1961 roku Shchodennyky XXII z’yizdu KPRS”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 29, 1961, no.219, 1-2.

sphere had already enough of the cult in its practice and just waited for a moment to speak up. Thus, after the ideological meeting, the teacher Dmitriyev from school #1 expressed the opinion of all the present:

*“At the time of the cult of Stalin’s personality, Lenin’s role was diminished. We were taught that Stalin was Lenin of that day. It greatly harmed our party and the world revolutionary movement<sup>1</sup>”.*

The teacher showed not only concern about the cult itself but also felt anxiety about the ideological background of the combating it. For example, the representatives of Poltava Regional Institutes for Advanced Training of Teachers worried that Party’s course had changed too rapidly, and no one hurried to change the textbooks. Three years after the XX Party Congress, the teachers were still working with the literature published under the influence of the cult of personality. They even expressed the thought that lecturers would also have to work on the same text-books three more years after the XXII Congress, just asking their students not to mention “the ideological inaccuracies” in the printed materials.

There really were gourds for worrying, because the students got interested in what in the current political life from the school bench. Poltava lecturer Ivan Lehenkyi remarked on this: *“the children are now showing great interest in the issue of the cult of Stalin. Obviously, this is the influence of the family home<sup>2</sup>”.*

Sometimes educators had to a lot of time and effort on re-formatting their students’ political consciousness. The youth had already had a stern look at Stalin’s place in the country’s life. And suddenly – in 1956 and then in 1961 – the Party offered them something fundamentally opposite and incomprehensible. For example, when the lecturers of Poltava SPI had to deliver a lecture for the pupils of the secondary school #2 on the topic “Lenin’s style of leadership” something went wrong. The class of seniors, probably, had a disagreement with the party line, so the meeting lasted until the late evening, until the students were convinced in Party’s rightness and they got rid of the “wrong views”.

Such gatherings were really purposeful because the information sometimes did not reach the lower masses. We find out that the students of Luhans’k SPI even in the end of 1961 were still asking their lecturers to explain the real meaning of the cult of Stalin and what more – to figure out how it could have possibly arisen in the

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.824, ark.11-11zv.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.824, ark.11-11zv.

Soviet State?<sup>1</sup> The “cure” of students’ unawareness was standard: to fill all their classes with the information on the cult. The order of the Ministry of Education required to assign 121 extra hours of lectures and 8 more hours of practical training on the materials of the XXII Congress. Along with it the SPIs had to remove all “politically outdated” literature from their libraries within two months<sup>2</sup>.

The nimbus of the coryphaeus rapidly disappeared from above Stalin’s head. The lecturer Holobutskyi of Marxism-Leninism in Poltava SPI openly spoke the deceased leader had many misconceptions about science, which made confusion in philology, linguistics and other sciences. He even called to put these views at the forefront of criticism in front of students. The head of the department of Russian language Volodymyr Savelyev added some from his field:

*“His [Stalin’s] statements were seen as boiling discovery. Now these provisions should be exposed, since no particular discoveries have been made by Stalin, he only explained some of the already well-known provisions in linguistics<sup>3</sup>”.*

There was something to say to each scientist for it seemed that Stalin made his mark in each academic sphere. The philosopher Dmytro Stepanov criticized Dzhughashvili for nihilism towards German classical philosophy. Historians urged to put an end to the neglect of the works of the repressed scientists as Mikhail Pokrovsky, the Ukrainian philologists noticed the harm that literature had suffered during the reign of Stalin. The general atmosphere of a “warm support and endorsement of the decisive critique and overcoming the cult” was obvious. The cardinal shift in the worldview is seen even through the evaluation of the XXII Party Congress given by the director of Poltava SPI Mykhaylo Semyvolos. He named it *“a congress that cleared the way for a fruit-bearing work”*<sup>4</sup>.

The term “fruit-bearing work” meant, first of all, the need of extremely quick revision of all texts of lectures and studying materials. That was (and still is) a curse of Ukrainian educators – to rewrite already prepared papers with each new turn in the inner policy of the state. Especially in the ideological sphere, as it happened during de-Stalinization. Historians from Kharkiv SPI had to re-write

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<sup>1</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.253, ark. 86.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.809, ark.5.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.5-7zv.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr. 4834, ark.111.

every topic after the resolution on the cult<sup>1</sup>. The state even organized a special All-Union Meeting on the Issues of Ideological Work to explain the educators how to change their “old-fashioned” lectures<sup>2</sup>. Similar “lesser workshops” were held in the SPIs’ under the surveillance of Marxist-Leninism sub-departments. There the educators were explained “*why the party considers it necessary to permanently eliminate the cult of Stalin*”.

However, we see that the teachers were aware of the opposition to the official line of criticizing Stalin. Thus, the head of Marxism-Leninism sub-department in Poltava Dmytro Stepanov agitated the work so skillfully not causing resistance. And his colleague pro-rector Petro Dudyk recommended: “*everywhere where ... the cult of Stalin is criticized, there has to be sound proof, there must be concrete facts*”<sup>3</sup>.

Among those willing to speak less about the eely question were the same philologists and historians. Determining the pressure of Stalin’s cult on Soviet literature, Ukrainian literature teacher Petro Padalka was said that there was no influence of the presentation of the pre-October literature. It really had no praises to Stalin but his “powerful hand” molded the understanding of Shevchenko personality as well as the formation of other national writers. The role of “devil’s advocate” was played by the historian Vasyl Loburets. He drew attention to the historical achievements of Stalin and on the mobilizing role of his speeches. He made an interesting note showing the attitude towards explaining Stalin’s lace in the World War II: “*We already call the Battle of Volgograd, and in the historical aspect the Stalingrad Battle is more convincingly*”. Similar views were also expressed by Hryhoriy Vorona, who even compared Khrushchev with Stalin. According to him, both transmitted to the masses not their own will but the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party. And so both deserved to be studied in the university course of history. Using this comparison, Mariya Malych even tried to reconcile two sides: if Stalin was a speaker of the Central Committee, then they had no need to revise the texts of lectured but just had no need to clarify that the quotes used in them were taken from specifically Stalin’s works. However, it was more correct to find the identical Orders of the CC of the CPSU instead to go with the flow<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> DAKhO, f.R-4293, op.2, spr.741, ark. 104.

<sup>2</sup> “Vsesoyuzna narada v pytannyakh ideolohichnoyi roboty”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 27, 1961, no.251, 1.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.18.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.7zv.-8.

### 1962: GLORIOUS PAST WITHOUT STALIN

Analyzing the life in the USSR after the XXII Congress, Harvard Professor Merle Fainsod argued that the State and the Party could have met the future until the horrors of the past had been driven out<sup>1</sup>. We see that the whole 1962 in the pedagogical institutes lasted under the motto of getting rid of Stalin's heritage in all possible spheres of life. First of all, the students and lecturers went to advocate the decisions of the XXII Congress in the schools of the city and all over the region. The greatness of the CPSU was now at the top of the agenda<sup>2</sup>. Its achievements should overcome all done by Stalin. Kharkiv historians proudly stated "the glorious history of our party" remained the prominent tool of education of a new generation<sup>3</sup>. But the CPSU had to beat Stalin's authority not only in ideology but also in the material sphere. Thus, Khrushchev even confronted the development of the agriculture during his reign with its state in the last day of Stalin's sway (actually copying Joseph Vissarionovich who liked to emphasize his success comparing it with the last days of tsarist rule in the time of collectivization)<sup>4</sup>.

The liberalization of the worldview was so great that there happened some things that were considered unbelievable and even criminal ten years before. For example, the lecturer of Sumy SPI Hryhoriy Nosenko published the scientific article named "The theoretical errors in Stalin's works on economic issues"<sup>5</sup>. And his colleague from Poltava Hryhoriy Kulyk wrote papers<sup>6</sup> and delivered speeches in front of the Academic council of the SPI with critical view on the "State ('gosudarstvennichesky') genius" of Stalin<sup>7</sup>.

In 1962, he even started the open discussion about the fate of openly talked about the unjust persecution of the historian Mikhail Pokrovskiy. The last one once was the leader of the Marxist Historical Science at the dawn of the Soviet State. However, when the "genius" "Short Course on the History of the VKP(b)" by Stalin was published, everything dramatically changed. The Central Committee of the Party issued the resolution on November 14, 1938 noting that Pokrovsky had interpreted the historical facts in a wrong way. There were anti-Marxist perversions and

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<sup>1</sup> Fainsod, Merle. "The Twenty-second party Congress" in *Russia under Khrushchev: an anthology of problems of communism [Edited by Abraham Brumberg]* (New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962), 128.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.810, ark.1.

<sup>3</sup> DAKhO, f.R-4293, op.2, spr.1029, ark.3.

<sup>4</sup> "Informatsiynе povidomlennya pro Plenum TsK KPRS", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 6, 1962, no.46-47, 1.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op.3, spr.407, ark.11

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.819, ark.3

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.805, ark.156

vulgarization in work of his scientific school. He was accused of interpreting the history far from the canons of the historical materialism, covering them from the point of view of his present day, and not from the point of view of those conditions in which the historical events took place. Not surprisingly, the whole school of Pokrovskiy was declared a real base of pests, spies and terrorists cleverly disguised with the help of his harmful anti-Leninist historical concepts. All the monographs by M. Pokrovsky were withdrawn from the libraries. Despite having been dead already for 8 years, the historian was blamed for all sins in the thick edition “Against the historical concept of M. N. Pokrovsky” published in 1940<sup>1</sup>. When the XXII Party Congress ordered “to evict” the coryphaeus of all sciences from the Mausoleum, the educators turned their views to the memory of their repressed colleagues. Poltavite Hryhoriy Kulyk not only urged to admit the role of Pokrovkiy but also to understand that the historian was devastated because of the only thing – the dominance of the cult of Stalin<sup>2</sup>.

Criticizing Stalin’s thoughts was a new trend promoted from the very top. In November, Khrushchev talked against Dzhugashvili’s human recourse policy:

*“Stalin did not believe in the masses: “This one is from under the machine! Where, he said, is he going?”*

New Party boss animadverted leader’s unsociability:

*“And he was afraid to drive across the city, he was afraid of people. A man locked himself in an armored box. What kind of life is this without communicating with the people?”*

Nikita Sergeevich assaulted Stalin’s arrogance:

*“He (Stalin) said, “I’ll die, you will all die, the imperialists will choke you”<sup>3</sup>”*

No wonder that after such “higher blessing”, Poltava students were no longer afraid to point out the negative effects of Stalin’s personal cult on the international

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<sup>1</sup> Protiv antimarksistskoy kontseptsii M. N. Pokrovskogo: Sb. st. / Akad. nauk SSSR. In-t istorii ; Red. : B.Grekov, Yem. Yaroslavskiy, S. Bushuyev.( Moskva-Leningrad: Akad. nauk SSSR, 1939-1940),Tom 2.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.824, ark.8

<sup>3</sup> “Rozvytok ekonomiky SRSR i partyne kerivnytstvo narodnym hospodarstvom. Dopovid’ tovarysha Mykyty Serhiyovycha Khrushchova na Plenumi TSK KPRS 19 lystopada 1962 rkou”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 20, 1962, no.232-233, 7.



situation in the first part of the XX century and even attacked his decisions during the Second World War<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, Social studies were the ones to live through the toughest changes in their content. Poltava mathematician Dmytro Mazurenko commiserated the department of Marxism-Leninism for it appeared in extremely difficult conditions “due to the requirements of time”<sup>2</sup>. Poltava educators even organized special methodological conference “Teaching of the humanities based on the decisions of the XXII Congress of the CPSU and overcoming the cult of the person<sup>3</sup>” to state the direction of further moving in the sea of ideological changes.

Summing up the campaign of clearing the science from the presence of Joseph Stalin, the teachers pointed at the significant gained already in a year<sup>4</sup>. Although higher school authorities acknowledged that universities still had a long way to cover in overcoming the consequences of the deeply rooted personality cult in educational<sup>5</sup> and scientific spheres<sup>6</sup>.

Long months passed under the motto of revising all studying programs. The sub-departments of Marxism-Leninism were the first in the list to make changes in their plans. However, all efforts undertaken by the lecturers were considered insufficient. The state wanted more radical steps. In May of 1962, the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov had to admit that his colleagues had little success in reveal the cult of Stalin’s personality<sup>7</sup>. From one hand, they really did a lot but not enough because they didn’t understand what was allowed to say. The Poltava institute was checked by the special ideological commission in spring of 1962 evaluating the results of de-Stalinization process in the social studies. The revisers made some warnings to the lecturers. The commission gone, Mariya Malych summed up that the Ministry asked for too much. The teacher explained that they stood away from the reviewing the legacy of Stalin in studying programs because no-one until the XXI Party Congress urged them to. In addition, the instructor noted that the commission was looking for a struggle against Stalin not only in lectures but in all present materials. The lecturer reproached the controllers who required the teachers to speak about Stalin’s cult throughout the whole course of the party history. But the XXI Congress explained the presence of this phenomenon

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.819, ark.3.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.805, ark.102.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr. 4836, ark.28.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.847, ark.7.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.380, 5 ark.1-2.

<sup>6</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.359, ark.1.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr. 4835, ark.181.

only since 1934. That is why the educator was really afraid to say something wrong and asked the Ministry, *“in order to avoid the troubles, to make a signal version of lectures with marks on the struggle against Stalin’s cult”*<sup>1</sup>.

Stepping through the way of struggle against the memory of the “leader of the peoples”, the administration of SPIs turned to the revision of the library funds. For example, the management of Hlukhiv SPI ordered to take off the works by Stalin not only from the shelves the main library but also from all cabinets and sub-departments’ gatherings<sup>2</sup>. During 1961-1962, from 9 thousand 866 units of the destroyed literature, 6 thousand 296 (64%) were classified as “obsolete after the XXII Congress of the CPSU as the political literature that extolled the cult of Stalin<sup>3</sup>”. Already in a year, the director of the library I. Lyashko listed 6 thousand 963 units ready for the utilization, among which 3 thousand 898 books (56%) were dedicated to Stalin<sup>4</sup>. There is one question about the quality of such revisions of the library funds: why was the number of banned books so high with each new “purge”? Were they intentionally left as classics on the shelves? Or did they continuously expand the list with the papers and books forgotten in the hurry? The answer could be ambivalent, however, already at the end of de-Stalinization, the volumes of Dzhughashvili’s writings were mostly wiped from the shelving. The Head of the Library of Poltava SPI even made the statement on this issue: “old literature had to be removed long before that day, freeing space for truly necessary books”<sup>5</sup>.

### 1963-1964: DOWNFALL OF CRITICS

Two years after the XXII Congress of the CPSU, the situation with the combat of the cult of personality had to be monosemantic. Straight party line urged to eradicate Stalin from all spheres of life of educators. However, they failed. We still see that some sub-departments of Marxism-Leninism used propaganda stands with “old-fashioned” slogans<sup>6</sup>. And students still had too many questions to their lecturers on the essence of Stalin’s cult. We have no documented phrases. However the lecturer of Poltava SPI Anton Cherevan mention in October of 1963 that the youth said wrong things about the struggle with the cult of personality<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.26.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.347, ark.19zv.

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.323, ark.1.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.364, ark.1.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.847, ark.98.

<sup>6</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.357, ark. 2.

<sup>7</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 925, ark.2.

Keeping this in mind, we found rather anecdotal fact working with materials of Hlukhiv SPI. One of the reports of the “anti-cult” library commission of the Institute was written on the back side of the A4-size poster... with a list of “the most necessary works by Stalin”. So, everybody reading the note had a chance to refresh in memory the “brilliant compositions by the coryphaeus of science” or a list of books dedicated to the dictator<sup>1</sup>.

Despite the officially welcomed criticism, we found some facts of manifestations of opposition to the attack on the memory of Stalin from 1961 to 1964. For then Joseph Vissarionovich remained the greatest mind on the planet. Thus, in Berdychiv SPI, lecturer O. Malyshev, “*being a prisoner of Stalinist views*”, quoted the works of the dictator in his lectures without naming the author<sup>2</sup>. A similar situation was with the lectures of the senior lecturers Ivan Tkachov and Oleksandr Kovmir of Hlukhiv SPI. They also cited the papers of the late ruler and were accused for having “*no criticism of Stalin’s erroneous ideas on strategy and tactics*”<sup>3</sup>.

No wonder that many students also responded negatively to the words of lecturers who were engaged in criticism of Stalin. They were not shy to show their beliefs even in presence of special Ministerial Commissions. For example, when heard the criticism of Stalin’s personality during the lecture in Poltava SPI, the student Tymoshenko stood up with the protective speech. The teacher Ivan Popyk said nothing in reply, and received a reprimand from the management with the recommendation to interrupt students in such cases immediately and explain them the party line<sup>4</sup>.

## LENINIZATION OF THE WORLVIEW

The question of Lenin’s place in the worldview of the Soviet people during Stalin’s rule and right after dictator’s death must be a subject of a separate study. Here we will just define standpoints of the Leninization of the consciousness of the Soviet citizens once polluted by the cult of Joseph Stalin. In 1953, educators almost unanimously mentioned Lenin mostly in the combination with Stalin: the second one was often called the student and follower of Vladimir Illich Lenin’s ideas<sup>5</sup>. In Poltava region, the first issue of the “Notepad of the agitator” was devoted to Stalin

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<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.385, ark.41-59.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.253, ark.135

<sup>3</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.389, ark.12.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.666, ark.25-26.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-2817, op. 3, spr.139, ark.67.

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as a successor of Lenin's case as well<sup>1</sup>. A strange "ideological couple" was felt as parents of all Soviet people.

<i>“Братами рідними ми стали, Дітьми великої сім'ї. Безсмертний Ленін, рідний Сталін – Вони батьки твої й мої”</i>	<i>“We have become close brothers, The children of the great family. Immortal Lenin, native Stalin – They are your parents and mine”<sup>2</sup></i>
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It was time when the teacher was still standing in the shadow of his pupil. He was understood mainly as a source but not the way. Lenin opened the gates to the future but Stalin was the one who gave his hand and helped to walk all the way to the nowadays. It was seen in the time of celebration of the 300 anniversary of the Council of Pereyaslav – the signing the military treaty between Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich in Ukrainian-Polish War of the XVII century. The date was interpreted as the anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine and Russia. This fact affected the formation of the views of the educators on such historical figures as Stalin and Lenin. Both of them – even if they ever had tried – were not physically involved in this event. However, this date was interpreted not so much from a historical but from an ideological point of view. The periodicals, reports of scientists of councils and meetings of the departments of the institutes of the UkrSSR formed the algorithm of perception: The Pereyaslav Council – the reunification of Ukraine with Russia – the evolution of the union in the USSR – a new enormous ode to Stalin and Lenin. This is best illustrated by the poem of the graduate of the Poltava SPI Mykola Poydemenko written up to the celebrations:

<i>“Разом в битви ішли за свободу Проти влади царів і панів. Вічну волю дав Ленін народу, І до щастя нас Сталін привів. Це ж турботою старшого брата Під негасним промінням Кремля І возз'єднана стала, й багата Українська Радянська земля”.</i>	<i>“They went together into the battles for freedom Against the power of tsars and masters. Lenin gave people the eternal freedom, And Stalin brought us to happiness. This is under the care of the elder brother, Under the unfading rays of the Kremlin, Became reunited, and rich Ukrainian Soviet Land<sup>1</sup>”</i>
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<sup>1</sup> “Pershyy nomer «Bloknota ahitatora»”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 27, 1954, no.42, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Poydemenko, Mykola. “Druhovi z Tambova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 23, 1953, no.17, 3.

Lenin didn't make it during the whole 1954. The analyses of visual sources one more time assured in the strength of the cult of personality in the Soviet State. Lenin's image hid behind Stalin's in the appeals to the anniversary of the revolution<sup>2</sup>. In the newslets, the camera caught gigantic twin-portraits of the leaders during many official ceremonies: in Sevastopol<sup>3</sup>, Tula<sup>4</sup>, Odesa<sup>5</sup> and Moscow<sup>6</sup>.



Picture 7.12. The boards of honor until 1955 will be decorated with the portrait of Stalin (“Zorya Poltavshchyny”, 1953)

However we found an interesting fact among the papers of the library of Poltava National Pedagogical University. The first one – the poem of the student of the institute Ivan Chervonyshchenko.

*“У слові першому дитини,  
У зорях сонячних Кремля,  
У пісні, що від серця лине –  
Велике Леніна ім'я”*

*“In the first words of the child,  
In the shiny stars of the Kremlin,  
In the song that goes from the heart –  
There is great Lenin's name<sup>7</sup>”*

<sup>1</sup> Poydemenko, Mykola. “Z velykym rosiys'kym narodom”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 28, 1953, no.236, 4.

<sup>2</sup> “Zaklyky TsK KPRS do 37-kh rokovyn Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi sotsialistychno revolyutsiyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, October 24, 1954, no.215, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Oktyabr' 1954 goda. No.61* (Directed by Semenova M.,1954)

<sup>4</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Yanvar' 1954 goda. No.2* (Directed by Varlamov L.,1954)

<sup>5</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Mart 1954 goda. No.18* ( Directed by Syetkina I.,1954)

<sup>6</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashikh dney. Noyabr' 1954 goda. No.66* (Directed by Rybakova A.,1954)

<sup>7</sup> Chervonyshchenko, Ivan. “Dlya myru y shchastya!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 25, 1954, no.87, 1

The point was that in previous reprints of this poem in 1953, instead Lenin's, the young men originally placed the name of Stalin.

Another discovery was the picture of the flag with portraits of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin in the "Zorya Poltavshchyny" published in November of 1954, the portrait of Stalin was crossed with the velvet ink<sup>1</sup>. Still, this can be named rather an example of "personal" or "local" Leninization because all over the country just a month after that event everyone was once again praising Joseph Stalin as the faithful Leninist<sup>2</sup>.

The first real change took place in 1955. Then Khrushchev made a political step changing the day of commemoration of Lenin. During Stalin's reign, they celebrated the day of Lenin's death. Khrushchev moved it to April – to the day of Ulyanov's birth<sup>3</sup>. The eternal ideologist should be mentioned with the positive thoughts from then. Poltava SPI student Mykola Poydemenko reacted to that with verse:

*“Образ вождя героїчний  
Житиме тисячі літ,  
Ленін, як сонце, – вічний,  
Ленін безмежний, як світ”*

*“The heroic image of the leader  
Will live for thousands of years  
Lenin, like the Sun, is eternal,  
Lenin is boundless as a world”<sup>4</sup>*

We see that Lenin in 1955 surprisingly moved Stalin back in the list of scientific works of educators. For example, during the conference on Sumy SPI there was no mention of Stalin<sup>5</sup>. The same situation was in Hlukhiv SPI<sup>6</sup>. Although there were some references to Stalin's works, but each time in 20 reports there was the name of Vladimir Illich in the title. For example, "Lenin and modern physics"<sup>7</sup>. We mention that in 1955 educator turned their views on balancing their studies trying to honor both coryphaeus. Thus, Poltava philologist Oleksandr Danysko published the

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<sup>1</sup> *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 10, 1954, no.226, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Yosyp Vissarionovych Stalin – velykyy prodovzhuvach spravy Lenina", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 21, 1954, no.252, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Postanova TsK KPRS "Pro den' pam'yati Volodymyra Illichy Lenina" in *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 11, 1955, no.7,1.

<sup>4</sup> Poydemenko, Mykola. "Lenin", *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 22, 1955, no.81, 3.

<sup>5</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 200, ark. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Zvitno-naukova sesiya kafedr Hlukhivs'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho instytutu, prysvyachena 85-richchyu z dnya narodzhennya Volodymyra Illichy Lenina.(Hlukhiv, 1955), 5.

<sup>7</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 222, ark. 18 (34)

research on the folk proverbs praising not only Stalin (as he did before) but Lenin as well. Among his findings there were the following ones:

*“We followed Lenin, followed Stalin, so the enemies were defeated” («За Леніним, за Сталіним ішли, то й ворогів перемогли»)*

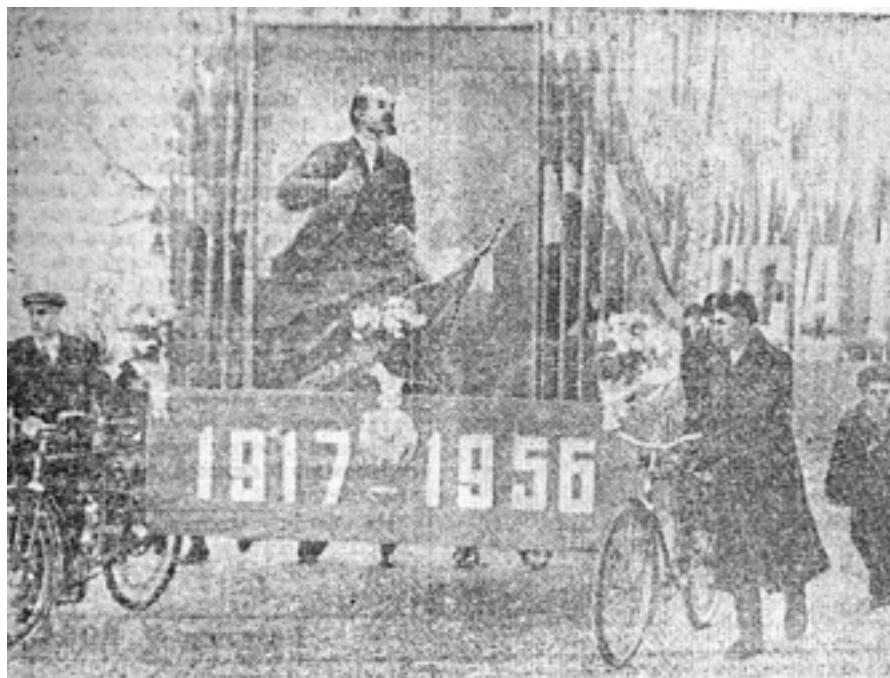
*or*

*“Lenin, Stalin showed us the right path for us to head to the happiness” («Ленін, Сталін вірний шлях нам показали, щоби ми до щастя прямували»)<sup>1</sup>.*

That image of “Lenin’s word” became very popular among the educators. For instance, the graduate of Poltava SPI Yakiv Shutko used it in his propagandist writings:

*“Накреслене Леніним слово  
Горить, пламеніє, зове...  
В нечувану еру чудову  
Життя наше входить нове...”*

*“The word drawn by Lenin  
Is burning, flaming, and calling...  
Into the unbelievable wonderful era,  
Our new life is coming in...”<sup>2</sup>”*



Picture 7.13. The first of May in Poltava without Stalin (“Zorya Poltavshchyny”, 1956)

<sup>1</sup> Danys’ko, Oleksandr. “Narodna mudrist”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, June 10, 1955, no.115, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Shut’ko, Yakiv. “Pid znamenem Zhovtnya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 6, 1955, no.222, 3.

After the XX Party Congress, V. I. Lenin showed “a rapid coming back”. His portraits dominated the festive columns as it was in 1920s. Special orders of the center returned him into the place of the truthful ideologist once occupied individually by Joseph Dzhughashvili. Thus, the directive of the Ministry of Education in April of 1958 outlined the proper celebration of the 88th anniversary of Vladimir Lenin’s birthday. The plans for celebrations included mass conversations, movie reviews, reading newspapers, giving speeches by the institute lectures in the cities, at the collective farms and at the plants. The main topic of their speeches was the “*influence of Lenin on the entire course of world history*”<sup>1</sup>.

Each new year the Ministry issued directives broadening the list of Lenin’s epithets recommended to the educators for their scientific<sup>2</sup> and propagandist work<sup>3</sup>: “a brilliant strategist”<sup>4</sup>, “simple as truth itself”<sup>5</sup>, a great architect of the Soviet state<sup>6</sup>, the founder of the Ukrainian SSR<sup>7</sup>. These were the adjectives once owned by Stalin. But we find no mentions of him in all official documents<sup>8</sup>. All papers assigned pedagogical institutes to honor Lenin in the same way they did to Stalin during his rule<sup>9</sup>. Lenin gradually retook even the place of a moral standard again. In Hlukhiv, the lecturers of the local SPI educated their students live according to the simplicity and modesty of Lenin<sup>10</sup>. Even management received a new pattern of behavior with their subordinates that was called “to rule in a truly Leninist way”<sup>11</sup>. Poltava educators steadily liked to note that Lenin was an example of a manager who always had time to accept every visitor<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.269, ark.24.

<sup>2</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 273, ark.30.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.713, ark.23.

<sup>4</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 290, ark.13.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.719, ark.5.

<sup>6</sup> Danishev, Stepan. “Velykyy zodchyy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 22, 1960, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Danishev, Stepan. “Lenin – tvorets’ Ukrayins’koyi radyans’koyi sotsialistychnoyi respubliky”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 2, 1960, 2.

<sup>8</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 307, ark.10.

<sup>9</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.312, ark.19.

<sup>10</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.322, ark.6.

<sup>11</sup> “Zustrich vybortsiv z kandydatom u deputaty Verkhovnoyi Rady SRSR (Promova tovarysha V.V. Shcherbyts’koho)”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 2, 1962, no.43.

<sup>12</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr.5235, ark.2.



– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

Even the prominent politicians started to value being called “devoted Leninists” but not “true Stalinists”. Interesting enough that in 1955 the only “real Leninist” was Stalin<sup>1</sup>. But after the official “ideological resignation” of the cult of personality during the XX Party Congress the list of “loyal Leninists” who built Ukraine broadened with the list of the whole Presidium of the CC of the CPSU<sup>2</sup>. Even the ordinary communists among educators such as philologist of Poltava SPI Petro Dudyk got rid of the title of the “Stalin’s follower” in his biography becoming “a true Leninist”. He even changed the formula of his way to success:

scientific and pedagogical achievements became possible thanks to the selfless work of the Party, the leadership of the CPSU headed by the Leninist Central Committee and an outstanding Leninist Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev<sup>3</sup>”.

Leninization was also spread through the sphere of local honors and awards. For the first time in 1960, the students of pedagogical institutes received scholarships named after Lenin<sup>4</sup>. The stipend of Stalin being once the most desirable one lost its position during the next years<sup>5</sup>.

Research works of the scientists from the pedagogical institutes were almost fully devoted to Lenin after the XX Congress if touching the problems of the role of personality in history. However, Stalin was absent in the lists<sup>6</sup>. The studying programs of the SPIs were also re-fueled with quotes from Lenin’s papers when Stalin’s works were under the ban.

For example, in 1961, the lecturers of Drohobych SPI specially mentioned that turned their views to Lenin instead of Stalin: “before that while



*Picture 7.14. Joseph Stalin was once even depicted as Devil in one of the Tarot decks published in Russia in 2010. What is it: a symbol of de-Stalinization of the minds or the strong faith in Stalin’s power?*

<sup>1</sup> “38-i rokovynny Velykoyi Zhovtnevoyi Sotsialistychnoyi revolyutsiyi. Dopovid’ tov. L. M. Kahanovycha na urochystomu zasidanni Moskovs’koyi Rady 6 lystopada 1955 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 7, 1955, no.223.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-19, op.1, spr. 256, ark. 20.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op.1, spr. 4833, ark.25.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.700, ark.192.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.756, ark.88.

<sup>6</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr. 313, ark. 25.

studying the topic “Lenin’s Program on the National Question” the students mainly learnt Stalin’s work “Marxism and the National Question”, then after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, they deeply studied the works of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin”<sup>1</sup>. Such shift of accents was widely promoted as an advanced experience. In March of 1961, the management of Poltava SPI praised Mariya Malych for using films about Lenin in her lecture course. The main achievement of the lecturer therefore was the emphasizing of Lenin’s role in the development of the state<sup>2</sup>.

The educators tried not only emphasize their fight with the cult of Stalin but showed their personal success in promoting Lenin among the young generation. Poltava lecturer Stepan Danishev urged to get rid of practice venerations Stalin during lessons “because of the habit”<sup>3</sup>. Having visited the All-Union meeting of historians in 1962, the educator from Poltava Dmytro Stepanov explained his colleagues the need of further deepening the critique of Stalin’s cult along with the accentuation on Lenin’s role in history<sup>4</sup>. In the end, the Leninization gained some exaggerated sides. Thus, the lecturer O. Protopopov noted that the use of the single name “Lenin” by teachers and students in speeches... diminishes the figure of the leader. He asked from then and on with the scope of raising up the patriotism and strengthening the fight with the cult of Stalin to use the full name Vladimir Ilyich Lenin<sup>5</sup>. The written and audible influence on consciousness had to be strengthened with the visual art. For example, in Hlukhiv SPI, the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism requested the management to buy them two sculptures for the education of students – “Volodya Lenin of four years of age” and “Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at work”<sup>6</sup>. The idol of Stalin was fallen but the fetish of Lenin had to rise on its place.

## RESTORATION

Fighting Stalin’s cult of personality was perceived as something stable, as the power of Nikita Khrushchev itself. We see it even through the plans for conferences in the pedagogical institutes of Ukraine. Among the topics there was one common to all – “Communism and personality” which was present in all lists up to the year 1965<sup>7</sup>. However, in October of 1964, Leonid Brezhnev came to power and de-

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<sup>1</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.253, ark.19.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.761, ark.5.

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 866, ark.3.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr. 865, ark.11.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op.1, spr.822, ark.22.

<sup>6</sup> DASO, R-5369, op.1, spr. 358, ark. 2.

<sup>7</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.389, ark.4

Stalinization had collapsed. And the attack on the cult of Stalin faded as we see from the future ideological course<sup>1</sup>. Even the Western press understood what happened describing the atmosphere in the USSR of the early Brezhnev days. The “new life” of Stalin started when “*an audience of 6,000 in the Kremlin’s Palace of Congresses broke into applause today as Stalin was mentioned as the Soviet Union’s wartime leader*” on May 9, 1965<sup>2</sup>. We did not see any signs of criticism of the reformer Khrushchev in the circle of educators after his “retirement” as was said no word (at least officially) to terminate the search of ghosts of Stalinism.

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<sup>1</sup> Knizhka partiynogo aktivista. 1980 / Sost. A.V. Shumakov (Moskva: Politizdat, 1979), 173.

<sup>2</sup> “Soviet Rally Hails Stalin; Zhukov Emerges in Honor; Rally at Kremlin Hails Stalin; Zhukov Emerges to Applause” in *The New York Times*, May 09, 1965, 1.

## 8

### **CPSU as a Symbol**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The citizens of the Soviet Union of the early 1950s were the prisoners of Stalin's personality cult. The politician was present in school textbooks, in the portraits over the desktops of the ordinary laborers as well as of the high officials. However, in March of 1953, with the death of the "Great Leader" who a year before was predicted to spend many more years in power, the cult slowly began to crack at the seams. Finally, after the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, it seemed too difficult for party leaders to patch the "seams" in the body of Stalin's personality. However, as an Old Russian proverb says, the holy place is never empty. Soviet citizens needed a new projection of the ideal creature to follow. It could and wished to be Nikita Khrushchev. Yet, it was impossible because of the fight against kneeling before the figures of living politicians initiated by Khrushchev himself couple years before 1956. So the Communist Party was declared "mind, honor and conscience" of the new era. The "ideological warriors" of the new idol – the educators – up to 1961 clearly presented themselves as "the closest friends of the party in the upbringing of the new man<sup>1</sup>". Here we will look at the way the citizens of the UkrSSR explained to themselves the role of the CPSU during the "thaw".

#### **STILL STALINIST**

On the one hand, at the dawn of 1953, when speaking about the party, the Ukrainians didn't refer to it as Bolsheviks' any longer. On the other, it was still named "Stalinist party" more frequently than Communist one. Periodical press used the deeply rooted word-combinations to ensure the unbreakable connection of the Party with Joseph Stalin. In January of 1953, the educators also used in their lectures such ideological mantras about "the party of Lenin and Stalin pointed the

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<sup>1</sup> APNPU, f.1 (z/v), op.1961 (Ist. viddil) (A-B), spr. Avramenko Olha Oleksiyivna, 28.

planet its New Way”<sup>1</sup>. However that “new path” was still to be completed by the future generations. The test works of this “upcoming breed” showed that by 1953 they had already recognized the party as a beacon for their “Great March”. However, its light was still shining from the hands of one person in Kremlin. Even the lines of the dictations written by the applicants of Hlukhiv SPI in 1953 strengthened the youth in the connection of the CPSU with the figure of the state leader. The young Lyudmyla Kyryanenko, as many others, had to write without the mistakes that “*the Party, led by Stalin, was calling workers to continue and to complete the proceedings begun by Lenin*”<sup>2</sup>. During the last months of the earthly life of Stalin we mention the formation of some sort of “sacred tandem” of masculine and feminine communist ideals. Stalin emerged as a Father-of-All, a Giver of strength, a Mastermind, and the Party was shown as all-mighty and life-giving Mother. Reading the last lines of the poem written by Poltava writer Yaroslav Vecherenko, it is easy to mention the replacing of religious beliefs with new political orients:

*“This is Stalin’s tireless genius,  
He gives us new surge of strength  
To build communism,  
Thank you party,  
Great all-mighty mother”.*

*“Це – Сталіна невтомний геній,  
Він сил дає новий прибії  
Нам комунізм побудувати,  
Спасибі, партіє, тобі,  
Велика, всемогутня мати!”<sup>3</sup>*

It seemed the death of the leader had to stir the sustainable political worldview where Stalin was the core. However, he didn’t vanish from the thoughts of people. The tandem of Stalin and the Party created during more than 20 years of his rule was too deep in the minds. So when everyone referred to the CPSU as the consolation in mourning for the late Leader, they surely did it connecting its name with Stalin’s glory. The real masculine political deity left the material world. And the new amorphous and almost transcendent icon of the Party tried to stretch the wings through hardships. The minds of atheistic Soviet citizens created semi-religious and semi-ideological fusion of idols. The poet from Poltava Fedir Harin showed it in his poem dedicated to the days of mourning in March of 1953:

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<sup>1</sup> “Pid praporom partiyi Lenina-Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 1, 1953, no.1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> APNPU, f.1 (z/v), op.1956 (Ros. viddil) (Z.K.S.), spr. Kyryanenko Lyudmyla Fedorivna, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Vecherenko, Yaroslav. “Spasybi, partiye, tobi!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 24, 1953, no.17, 3.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

*“We’ll affirm the hope of the peoples –  
For we have a strong and certain hand.  
Our hearts are owned  
By the Party and Stalin’s Central Committee”*

*“Ми народів ствердимо надію –  
В нас міцна і впевнена рука.  
Нашими серцями володіє  
Партія і Сталінське ЦК”<sup>1</sup>*

Two month later, in May of 1953, we mention a gradual roll to the molding the potential Party representation. Not long ago the epithets of “native” and “close to everyone” were solely among Stalin’s characteristics. He was a “trustee,” “a guide”, “the encourager” and “the ideal”. From now and on, the CPSU takes over the attributes of the “full-blooded one”, of “that hearing everything” or “that to which all deeds are dedicated”. However, its knowledge was still Stalinist one for the cult of personality was sitting too deeply inside the heads and souls. The best illustration of that is found in the verse by the Soviet poet Lev Oshanin whose lines were lavishly re-printed in the regional press:

*“The party, listen, my dear,  
The voice of your sons -  
Labor youth serves  
To your Stalin’s truth”.*

*“Партія, слухай, родная,  
Голос своих сыновей –  
Служит юность трудовая  
Правде сталинской твоей”<sup>2</sup>*

The new political elite started to strengthen the primacy of the Party itself over its representatives almost after the death of Stalin. Among these initiatives we find a proposal of Interior Minister Lavrentiy Beria to prohibit the use of the portrait of the living politicians in the columns during the political demonstrations<sup>3</sup>. The party had to be over all living people. It had to become the image of purity and justice. The only ones who had the moral right to look at ordinary citizens from the height of the giant portraits were Communist geniuses. Among those intellectual giants was so called MELS “quartet” of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The last one was declared the coryphaeus already during his earthly life so his portrait didn’t disappear from the columns of demonstrators after Beria’s decision. Incidentally, the faces of alive politicians soon were once again on seen on the tablets in the hands of the feasting people. People needed a stable fetish however the image of

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<sup>1</sup> Harin, Fedir. “Vede nas Stalins’ke TsK”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 17, 1953, no.57, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Oshanin, Lev. “Partiya, slushay, rodnaya!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 20, 1953, no.99, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Petrovs’kyi V., Radchenko L., Semenko V. *Istoriya Ukrainy: neuperedzhenyi pohlyad: faky. Mify. Komentari.* (Kharkiv, SHKOLA, 2007), 498.

self-sufficient Party was quite weak in the first half of 1953 to replace an idolatrous adoring of Soviet leaders.

The image of CPSU logically had strengthened its position by November, 1953 – the period of its 50th anniversary. The totalitarian machine used a standard set of “ideological artillery” of public lectures, concerts, meetings and press publications to make it a number-one event of the month. But the burst of attention to the Party from the side of the Soviet citizens was blurred by the idea of the “Stalin’s protectorate” over its glory. In most of greetings the CPSU was declared to be matured and grown by the late leader. Even the imaginative thinking of poets-propagandists such as Yevhen Letyuk tried to tie the CPSU to the words congruent with Stalin to deepen their relationship:

*“The great Lenin and the great Stalin  
Have been bringing it up for five decades.  
So she is standing, like the torch,  
Having absorbed strength of ringing steel”.*

*“Великий Ленін і великий Сталін  
Її рослили п’ять десятиліть.  
Тому вона, як світоч той стоїть,  
Ввібравши в себе міць дзвінкої сталі”<sup>1</sup>*

For the general public the CPSU remained a “holy spirit” of Stalin with help of which the ascended into the eternity Father-Stalin directed the aspirations of people and changed the world. As we have seen before, there were too many signs of demiurge in Stalin’s figure. So it was really hard to take them away from his post-mortuus image. However, the first steps in that direction were made in 1953.

We notice it while conducting the content analysis of the local periodicals the “Zorya Poltavshchyny” that reached almost every house of the region. Within two months of 1953 during which Joseph Stalin was alive, periodicals mentioned CPSU mostly in the phrase “the party of Lenin and Stalin” very often losing the name of the first of two leaders. They did it in January with the intervals up to 3 times per the one issue of the newspapers (57 formulations) and in February to an average of 2 references per a paper. The “mourning March” of 1953 left the most appeals to the Party as to the “Stalinist one” which is logical. Most of the press was still convincing the people in the loss of the “living god” and the pillar of the CPSU. In all other cases, when speaking about the Party separately from the memory of Joseph Vissarionovich, the reporters freely named it “Communist”. Its “Stalinist nature” showed the signs of changes with the strengthening of the position of the new political leadership after the days of sables.

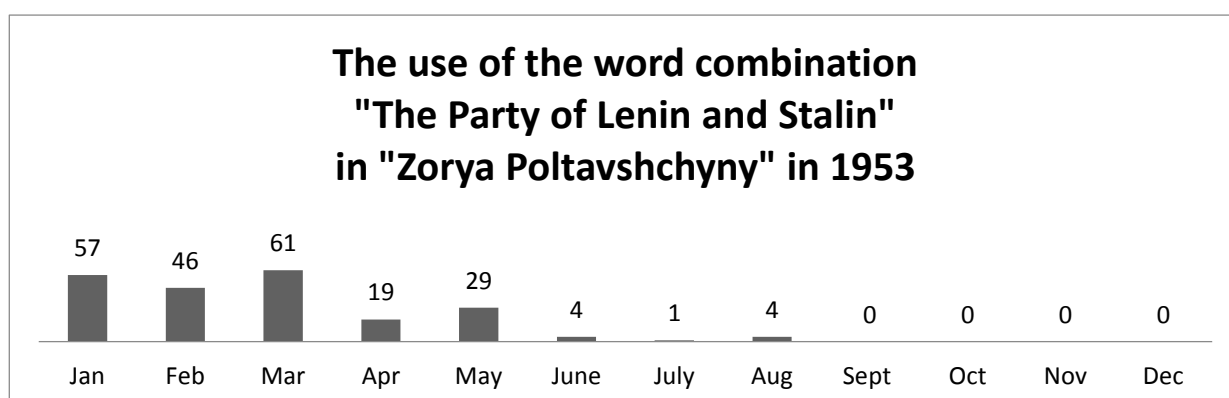
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<sup>1</sup> Letyuk, Yevhen. “Na vysoti”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, November 6, 1953, no.221, 3.

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

Already in April of 1953, the candid mood of de-Stalinization rooted at the imperious Olympus. It also started to leak into the Soviet society which became obvious because of the decline of the ideological association of the Party with Stalin. Thus the number of mentions of them in pairs decreased 3 times, from 61 to 19 per month – or to an average of one mention per the issue. However, once common parallel with the late leader influenced the worldview of ordinary people even when it disappeared from the press. The verses by the folk poets continued to state “Stalinist” nature of the partisanship. We mention the increase of these formulations in May of 1953 which is logically explained by the celebration of the First of May – the first Labor Day without Stalin. Nevertheless, the creativity of the Soviet citizens showed that they believed they were still led by him in form of the Stalinist Central Committee. However, the number of references of the “Stalinist party” actually looks quite insufficient being used in the press only during the celebrations of the two dates – 1 and 9 May. The holiday of the Working people and the Day of the Great Victory still bore a great seal of dependence on the authority of Stalin as the “liberator” from the social, national and “fascist” captivity.

During the summer of 1953, we outline a sharp shift in the official policy of positioning the CPSU. There were maximum 4 mentions of it per month (and only 1 reference connecting the party with Stalin to 5 numbers). This is the end of the transition crisis period for the creating of a new image of the party, which started with the death of the “Great Leader” on March 5, 1953. In the future, already in September 1953, the rate of the mentions of the CPSU in attribution with Stalin plunged to zero.



**Bar chart 8.1**



Why September? Among the likely explanation may be the beginning of activity of Nikita Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the Central Committee on September, 7. The Resolution of the Plenum of the CC of the CPSU “On measures to further agricultural development” initiated by him pushed the politician from the shadow of his “elder comrades” Malenkov and Molotov. And it also became a start-point in the designing of the new life of Soviet citizens<sup>1</sup> a life without Stalin. Khrushchev turned to ruining the influence of his former teacher from afar – in the fields and on the farms. The Party became the one knowing how to organize agriculture better. However, the analysis of the periodicals indicates that “cleaning” the “Stalinist” stains out of the CPSU was quite blurry until the Twentieth Party Congress in February, 1956. Till that day the disappearance of the formula “the party of Stalin” from the press was periodically substituted by any possible poetical connections.

The tradition to connect the CPSU with the memory of Stalin official practice almost disappeared during 1954. One of the first examples of this was a solemn funeral meeting in the Bolshoi Theater of the USSR, dedicated to the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Lenin. Khrushchev speaking at the Presidium said that the people were led to the victory of the socialism by the party; it was the CPSU who strengthened their faith, gave strength and inspiration. Nevertheless, he mentions in the end that the way to communism continued under the banner of Lenin and Stalin<sup>2</sup>. But it was rather the evidence of the decrease of the dictate of Stalin’s personality over the governing party. Another example of such episodically remembering of the late dictator was mentioned in the newsreel. While showing the opening of a new metro station “Krasnopresnenskaya” in Moscow in March 1954, the viewer could see two large statues of Lenin and Stalin, who seemed to be walking consulting about something. However, the broadcaster stressed that the design of the station was dedicated to the glorious revolutionary struggle of Moscow workers under the leadership... of the Communist Party. And there was no word – except for visual hint – about the “crucial role” of Stalin in it<sup>3</sup>. So it is not surprising that under such thought-out governance Poltava poet Yakiv Shutko already had been caroling about the Party as leader a of people by the May demonstrations in 1954:

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<sup>1</sup> “Pro zakhody dalshoho rozvytku sil’s’koho hospodarstva SRSR. Postanova Plenumu TSK KPRS, pryynyata 7 veresnya 1953 roku po dopovidi tovarysha Khrushchova Mykyty Serhiyovycha”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, September 13, 1953, no.183, 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. Yanvar 1957 goda. No 5.* (Director: Venzher I., 1954).

<sup>3</sup> *Novosti dnya. Khroniki nashykh dney. March 1957 goda. No 16.* (Director: Grigoriev R., 1954).

*“Shine, you, mighty and majestic  
Young Sun of May–  
The Communist Party  
Is leading us along the spring ways.”*

*«Світи ж, могутнє і величне  
Травневе сонце молоде –  
Нас партія комуністична  
Дорогами весни веде»<sup>1</sup>.*

The only link to the “Stalinist heritage” of the party in print was recorded in April 1954 the party. Then the press published greeting telegrams received by Nikita Khrushchev to his 60th anniversary. And only one of them sent by the Communist Party of China named the Communist Party the Stalinist one<sup>2</sup>.

Thereafter the formation of the party image continued with the use of the best example of molding the cult of Stalin. The ideological reformers didn't bother about the new ideological means and forms of influence on human consciousness. They simply changed the phrases or sometimes even just two or three words in the old mottoes so they were working on behalf of a new political idea. For example, in 1953, going to the polls, a Soviet citizen knew that the he was voting “*for Stalin, for all the Soviet people, / For the best of its representatives*<sup>3</sup>” exactly in that semantic order as written in the poem by Ivan Zlotyabko. Already in 1955 the priorities were set by the poet Pavlo Dudnytskyi as follows:

*“For the sun to smile from the sky  
To all the workers of the Earth,  
I, my dear party, will give  
My electoral vote for you.”*

*“Щоб посміхалось сонце з неба  
Землі всієї трударям,  
Я, рідна партіє, за тебе  
Свій голос виборчий віддам”<sup>4</sup>.*

However, party had not yet reached the whole scale of Stalin's cult by that time. It was portrayed only as an intermediary between the Communist Light and the World of people. And human memory bore the mantra that “Stalin was our only and viable Sun”<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, the CPSU showed gradual absorption even of these characteristics of Stalin's figure.

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<sup>1</sup> Shut'ko, Yakiv. “Pid sontsem Travnja”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 1, 1954, no.91, 2.

<sup>2</sup> “Vital'ni telehramy bratnikh partiy u zv'yazku z shistdesyatyrichchiam tovarysha Mykyty Serhiyovycha Khrushchova”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 20, 1954, no.82, 2.

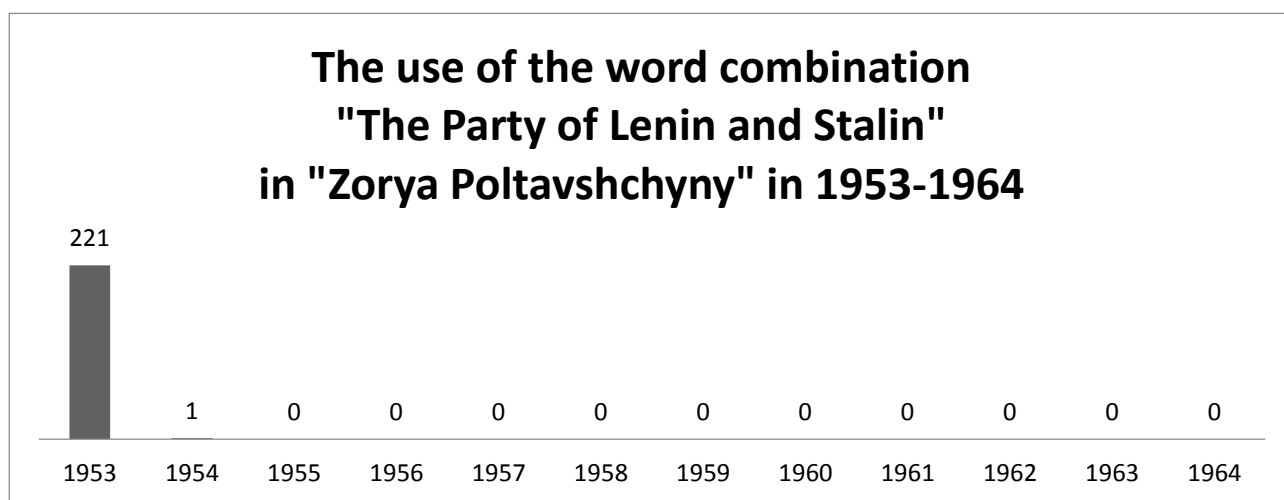
<sup>3</sup> Zlotyabko, Ivan. “Z imenem Stalina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 24, 1953, no.39, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Dudnyts'kyi, Pavlo. “Slovo vybortsya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 27, 1955, no.42, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Hayota, L. “Stalin – nashe Sontse”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 20, 1953, no.14, 1.

## ABSORBING STALIN

The changes of representation of its role become evident when reading about the results of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR in March of 1955<sup>1</sup>. They wrote that it was Communist Party that gained the usual to the totalitarian state 98.89% of the vote but not as a bloc of Communists and the non-party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, as it used to be announced before.



**Bar chart 8.2**

At this time there appeared reprint of the poem by the Russian writer Sergei Mikhalkov translated into the Ukrainian by Maksym Rylskyi, wherein one could find the specific patterns of a new leader of the Soviet society – the Party<sup>2</sup>. Then it was the Communist Party that “led to work and to the deeds all Soviet nations”. It was named “our hope and strength” and “our helmsman.” Stalin was not a creator of its bases any more – on the contrary, the ideological poet proposed to search its origins in the glory of the fighters from the folk that stood up for the truth and carried the banner of the Socialist freedom high. Not Joseph Dzhugashvili, but the CPSU was named the unifier of nations, the one embodying the dreams of people into life, and the strong rock, that had grown despite the terrible battles with the countless enemies crushing. The CPSU also took over the characteristics of Wisdom once solemnly connected with the coryphaeus of all Sciences. That was a tremendous jump in the representation of the party to people if to keep in mind that

<sup>1</sup> “Povidomlennya Tsentral’noyi vyborchoyi komisiyi po vyborakh do Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrayins’koyi RSR 27 lyutoho 1955 roku”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 4, 1954, no.45, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Mikhalkov, Sergey. “Partiya – nash rulevoy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 6, 1955, no.134, 3.

not late than two years ago it was normal to hear that “the sun of joyful brotherhood and freedom” was lit by Stalin himself<sup>1</sup>. Ever more clearly one could see the process of replacing of one cult by another when analyzing the celebration of the 76 anniversary of the birth of J. V. Stalin. Usually the press articles were filled with editorials like “J. Stalin is the great continuer of Lenin’s deal”<sup>2</sup>. But already in 1955, the article dedicated to the event of Stalin’s birthday was called... “Under the leadership of the Communist Party!”<sup>3</sup> As we see, the late dictator was deliberately removed behind the Collective Leadership of the CPSU.

The Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 was the key moment in the formation of the cult of the Communist Party on the remains of the worship of Stalin. It essentially marked the completion of the formative period of this process. After its decisions the society started to adapt to the new political and ideological environment. By this date, the CPSU didn’t hold a clear leadership position failing to compete with the “Great Leader” Stalin. Thus, just a month before that, the press greeted the Nineteenth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine telling that people were united not around the idea of the CPSU but around the flag of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin<sup>4</sup>. And regional party committees replicated the same ideological mantras about MELS authority in the party even though the newspapers put their words under the newly-sketched headlines such as “Party is our helmsman”<sup>5</sup>.

However, fateful Khrushchev’s speech about Stalin’s crimes on the closed session during the Twentieth Party Congress leaned the weight toward the emerging of the Party cult. It immediately began to claim the main Stalin’s feature – the status of the Leader. Already in February of 1956 this was clearly seen in the creative works of party poets such as Mykhaylo Tykhyi:

*“Gloriously, majestically and tirelessly  
It is going along the light Lenin’s way,  
The wise party, the heroic leader,  
And is leading workers to happiness.”*      *“Переможно, невтомно й велично  
Шляхом ленінським світлим іде  
Мудра партія – вождь героїчний –  
І трудящих до щастя веде”<sup>6</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Bezman, H. “Lyubov narodna”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 25, 1953, no.40, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Y. V. Stalin – velykyi prodovzhuvach spravy Lenina”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 21, 1954, no.252, 2.

<sup>3</sup> “Pid provodom Komunistychnoyi partiyi!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, December 22, 1955, no.250, 1.

<sup>4</sup> “XIX z’yizd Komunistychnoyi partiyi Ukrayiny”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 17, 1956, no.12, 1.

<sup>5</sup> “Partiya – nash rulyovyi”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 14, 1956, no.32, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Tykhyi, Mykhaylo. “Partiya – nashe sontse”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 18, 1956, no.36, 4.

In the first few months of that adaptive period ideological workers began active campaigns for the creation of the new image of the CPSU. One of the most effective campaigners in changing the worldview of the Soviet citizens were the teachers of schools and universities. They were used to forming the outlook of the new generation. The educators easily laid the foundations of the world view with the constantly changing vectors of the political piety with each new ideological course. As an example we may name a lecture on the history of the Great Patriotic War, delivered by the Ostrovskiy to the students of Kharkiv SPI already in May of 1956. Lecturer observed that victory did not come alone, it was necessary to organize it through the influence of the subjective factors. However, according to the educator, in 1956, that “subjective factor” was no longer the “leader of the peoples” Stalin, but the new leader of nations the CPSU<sup>1</sup>. In the same time-period, the lecturers of Poltava SPI also organized lectures on the role of the Communist Party as a collective leader of the working class and all working people embodying the will of the authorities<sup>2</sup>.

After at the party had assumed the status of the leader, it began to absorb other attributes of Stalin’s idol. One of them was category of the eternity. In part it manifested in the praising of the continuity of late leader’s ruling and of its impact on the education of generations. Typically, students’ work used to begin or end with the phrase: “I want to be like Stalin...”<sup>3</sup> For example, Poltava student Lyudmila Repalo wrote in her examination composition in June 1953: “to be like Stalin is the patriotic duty of every Soviet man”<sup>4</sup>. Even three months after the death of the leader approach to such a “Stalin’s standard” was very actual. However, already in 1956, the CPSU took away the status of teacher and mentor from Stalin. So, the teachers of school №13 of Poltava prohibited their pupils to write in their works about Stalin’s role in their lives indicating instead that “all of them were brought up by the Party”<sup>5</sup>

The question of loyalty and fidelity changed during that time period as well. They began to take away Stalin’s “sacral right” to be called a luminary of science and the right to be the orient in defining the allegiance to the state. This is quite clearly evident from the amendments made to the many personal cases of teachers

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<sup>1</sup> DAKho, f. R-4293, op.2, spr. 681, ark.21.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f. R-1507, op. 1, spr.548, ark. 3

<sup>3</sup> I Want to be like Stalin: from the Russian test on Pedagogy by B. P. Yesipov and N.K. Goncharov translated by George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge (New York: The John Day Company, 1948).

<sup>4</sup> Bezman, H. “Velyki pochuttya. Ekzamen u shkoli”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 5, 1953, no.110, 3.

<sup>5</sup> DAPO, f. P-244, op.1, spr.3945, ark. 6zv

of the UkrSSR. Thus, the description of Dmytro Stepanov, the head of the department of Marxism-Leninism in Poltava SPI word for word copied the same characterization of 1952. However, in all places where he was named a “true comrade of Stalin” and to his policy, there appeared the remark about the loyalty to the Party. And educator’s initiatives on restructuring programs of the SPI no longer continued in the light of the “brilliant works of Stalin” but “in light of recent Party outlining”<sup>1</sup>.

Of the rest, the most powerful blow to the cult of Stalin in favor of the establishment of the cult of the CPSU was the formation of the dogma of its infallibility. After the XX<sup>th</sup> Party Congress the firmness of truth of Stalin’s claims was put into question. Even more, to whitewash the party, the politicians explained the problems of the past not with the obedient silence of the party but with unreasonable Stalin’s decisions. Thus, the employee of Poltava gravimetric observatory Zakharov said about post-war years:

*“The stage in the life of the party has already passed, it was born not by the Soviet system, but by the historical conditions that has already gone into the past”<sup>2</sup>.*

And the words of a teacher Hoydenko from Poltava school #5 actually concluded the entire campaign of the formation a new Party cult: *“The more the party purifies itself the stronger it is”<sup>3</sup>*. Consequently, the party scraped out the cult of Stalin in the way to stand firmly on his place of the “Great Leader of the peoples”.

During the next 1957 year, with the beginning of the “liberal political cleansing” made by Khrushchev against his political opponents Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, the educators used the term “self-cleaning of the party” very often in their everyday work. In this way the teachers tried to explain their students and to the wide public the correctness and infallibility of these “political massacre” conducted by the First Secretary Nikita Sergeevich. Thus, Mrs. Meshko, a teacher from Poltava school #13, remarked:

*“Whoever has stood in its way, the party honestly and strictly exposes and removes them from its way”<sup>4</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> APNPU, f.2, op.S-2, spr. Stepanov Dmyro Vasylyovych, ark. 52.

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4489, ark. 10

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.4005, ark. 40

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.P-244, op.1, spr.3946, ark. 14

The party finally assumed the “powers” of a mastermind and an organizer of the achievements of the Soviet people in 1957. The evidence of this is present in the lists of research topics of the educational institutions of Ukraine<sup>1</sup>. Even the congratulatory letter of the Deputy Education Minister Oleksiy Rusko to the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution hailed educators as infinitely loyal to the leader, the inspirer and the organizer of all Soviet victories – the Communist Party<sup>2</sup>.

In 1957 they also deprived Stalin of the status of Lenin’s successor. So, the Head of Marxism-Leninism sub-department of the Poltava SPI Dmytro Stepanov praised his colleague Dmytro Kostenko for skilful use of Stalin’s work on the basis of Leninism in which Joseph Vissarionovich defended Leninism from Trotskyites. However, the skilled hand of an unknown corrector crossed that line from the characteristics hiding the name of Stalin under the ink of a different color<sup>3</sup>. The same situation was observed in the wide propaganda. The movie “Unforgettable years” (1957) showed the footage of life in the country after Lenin’s death. One could watch the figure of Stalin shown on the screen for quite a long time. However, the speaker never called his name, saying only that Lenin’s deal was continued by the party<sup>4</sup>.

### DRAGGING THE “IDEOLOGICAL BLANKET”

But the most striking example of dragging the “ideological blanket” from the figure of Stalin to the amorphous Communist Party is a reprint of pieces of literature once dedicated to the totalitarian leader replacing his name with the name of the CPSU. Thus, in 1953, there were the following verses by Mykola Netesa published in “Zorya Poltavshchyny”:

*“The word of leader has become the law to us,  
And leader’s thought is shining as the sun to us.  
In the ardent race in the field or at the buildings  
We are bearing his name in our hearts.  
There is no greater happiness in the world  
Than to learn from him how to live and win,  
And from the leader’s works, filled with wisdom,  
To draw the inspiration and strength...”*

*«Законом стало нам вождеве слово,  
І мисль вождя як сонце нам сія...  
В палкім змаганні – в полі, на будові  
Ми несемо в серцях його ім’я.  
Немає щастя більшого на світі,  
Як вчитись в нього жить, перемагати,  
З вождевих творів, мудрістю налитих,  
Натхнення й силу творчую черпати...»<sup>5</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> DASO, f.R-5369, op.1, spr.241, ark. 23

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr.570, ark.31

<sup>3</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr.594, ark. 1

<sup>4</sup> Nezabyvaemye gody (Skovz’ gody mchas’) (Director: Kopalin I.,1957).

<sup>5</sup> Netesa, Mykola. “Za Stalina ya holos viddyayu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 22, 1953, no.38, 3.

The same poem appeared in periodicals of Poltava when Stalin was no longer in favor. However, with some adaptations. If in 1953 it was named “I give my electoral voice for Stalin” then in 1957 the title was re-designed to “For the Party!” It also influenced the text itself: “*The word of leader*” in the first line became “*the word of the party*” and “*the leader’s works*” were changed to “*its (party’s) outlining*” and so on<sup>1</sup>. The inventive artist and newspaper editors changed only a few words in the work, and there was nothing left from the righteousness and justice of Stalin while the ode to the new ideological leader was born.

No wonder that some thinking people didn’t hide their frank disappointment on the creation of a new idol on the debris of Stalin’s one. Thus, the second year student of History and Philology department of Stanislav SPI Rayisa Sniser was indignant: “*Why does the party boast of success, why should we praise the party? Won’t there be a new cult in it?*”<sup>2</sup>. Of course, such comments found “decent” response of state security.

Further process of party cult-making only deepened. Having denied Stalin’s status of leader and teacher, they started “to separate” the memory of him from the mass self-identification. For example, in 1953, the students of Poltava SPI stated at a meeting with Soviet writers that “*Stalin and the people were united*”<sup>3</sup>. Already in 1958 the accent was removed and Nikita Khrushchev remarked in his speech before the electorate of Moscow that “*party of communists is the flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the people*”<sup>4</sup>. A 1958 May Day calls also noted that this was the CPSU which “*tirelessly and persistently was sowing the grain of truth and light among people – the Marxist-Leninist doctrine*”<sup>5</sup>. By the way, the new version of the Party History published that year, unlike the publication of 1938, had lost mentions about Stalin and the “party of Lenin and Stalin” on the flyleaf as well as in the text. The new edition left the place only for one genius who was ahead even of Marx and Engels – Vladimir Lenin<sup>6</sup>.

Five years ago, in the mourning days of 1953, the poet Ivan Honcharenko named his poem “*We are strong with Stalin’s power*”. He persuaded himself and readers that Stalin was “*unquenchable sun in the sky*”, which warmed the “*hearts and our souls*”, who led the nation “*in battles and in work,*” whose power made

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<sup>1</sup> Netesa, Mykola. “Za partiyu ya holos viddyayu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 3, 1957, no.44, 3.

<sup>2</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.209, ark. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Pashko, Andriy. “Bezsmertya”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, April 1, 1953, no.67, 3.

<sup>4</sup> “Promova tov. Khrushchova Mykyty Serhiyovycha na zborakh vybortsiv”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 15, 1958, no.55, 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> “Za svitle maybutnye vs’oho lyudstva”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, May 1, 1958, no.87, 1.

<sup>6</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr.673, ark. 12



the folk strong and whose will made everyone firm<sup>1</sup>. However, his paternal functions vanished along with other attributes of worship in five years. In 1958, Poltava educator Andriy Pashko defined the Communist Party as the “*Eternal source of inspiration and warmth for people*”<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the CPSU directly replaced Stalin as a father of the Soviets. The poet Yakiv Nosenko captured it in his “*Song about the Communist Party*”:

*“As a dear, clever and faithful mother,  
It’s united nations in a friendly family,  
The nationwide love to her is immense,  
We entrust to her our fate”.*

*«Як мати кохана, розумна і вірна,  
З’єднала народи у дружну сім’ю,  
До неї любов всенародна безмірна,  
Ми їй довіряємо долю свою»<sup>3</sup>.*

So it is not surprising that Stalin was turned from the dictator of his own will to the translator of the will of the party. They even demanded to emphasize that fact in the lectures. For example, a teacher of Poltava SPI Pavlo Denysovets drew attention of his students that while mentioning the speeches and decision of Stalin during World War II they were to say that he only voiced the directives of the party<sup>4</sup>.

The apogee of the process of creating a cult of the party during the de-Stalinization can be considered the year 1961, when it started to be presented as “*the mind, honor and conscience of our time*”<sup>5</sup>. It was very noticeable in the party documents and in the lectures held in the institutes and in the public. A wide collective discussion of the Charter and the Program of the CPSU, held all across the USSR, contributed to the molding of the new strong image of the Party as well.

Of course, having declared the cleanliness of the CPSU, they saw the unsolved problem of the grubbiness of party members. There were too many facts of unworthy behavior from the side of the communists. For the new cult of “honor and conscience” not to suffer from the deviant acts of the citizens, the educators of the UkrSSR offered numerous campaigns. Thus, the teacher of Poltava SPI Volodymyr Yevtushenko even proposed “*to start a new purge of the party ranks excluding those communists using their official position to fully ensure their financial well-*

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<sup>1</sup> Honcharenko, Ivan. “Stalina syloyu my duzhi”, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, March 10, 1953, no.12, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Pashko, Andriy. “Nashykh syl dzherelo”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, January 1, 1958, no.1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Nosenko, Yakiv. “Pisnya pro Komunistychnu partiyu”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, March 16, 1958, no.56, 2.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr.778, ark. 54zv

<sup>5</sup> Danishev, Stepan. “Rozum, chest’ i sovist’ nashoyi epokhy”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, July 22, 1961, no.147, 3.

*being*”. His colleague Mishchenko called this self-enrichment and other deeds the “*spots of capitalism*” on the pure image of the party and advised breed modesty in lives. The canon of it was now searched in the life of Lenin<sup>1</sup>. As can be seen, as it was with Stalin a decade ago, there formed a new gap between a cult figure (now it was a transcendent Party) and all others who were not worthy of its purity. In the late de-Stalinization we find conversation among the educators where they even discussed the need to give special permissions to talk about inner Party-life with non-party members. The authorization should also be given for interpretation of its decisions as a sign of a high trust that only a few people could receive<sup>2</sup>. The Party finally replaced Stalin on his pedestal:

*“You, my party,*

*You’re*

*Teacher of truth and winged mind,*

*Word of steel, loud like a bell,*

*You’re my father,*

*You’re my mother,*

*You’re my party, everything for me!”*

*“Ти, моя Партіє,*

*Ти*

*Правди учитель і розум крилатий,*

*Слово із криці, як дзвін, голосне,*

*Ти – мені батько,*

*Ти – мені мати,*

*Ти мені, Партіє, все!”<sup>3</sup>.*

No wonder that even “the most ideological” workers of higher pedagogical school – the members of the department of Marxism-Leninism – often expressed against such cult-molding trends. Thus, the lecturer from Poltava Mariya Malych had long debates with the head of the sub-department Dmytro Stepanov on that topic. And finally she was forced to agree with the proposal to stress constantly the leading and guiding role of the CPSU in each her lecture. Although she mentioned she saw no need to absolute the role of the Party<sup>4</sup>. She wasn’t alone in her opinion speaking in unison with the head of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Berdychiv SPI Fedir Buryanovskyi. While the whole country was in the midst of the discussions of the “most perfect” Party statute and the program, he urged the students to look at the CPSU critically as on the new political idol calling it a “state party”<sup>5</sup>. A laboratory worker of Poltava SPI M. Malyshev refused to take part in the

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op. 1, spr.4834, ark. 101-103

<sup>2</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr.756, ark. - 176

<sup>3</sup> Onkovych, Dmytro. “Tobi, Partiye!”, *Zorya Poltavshchyny*, February 2, 1962, no.23, 1.

<sup>4</sup> DAPO, f.R-1507, op. 1, spr. 778, ark. 1.

<sup>5</sup> TsDAHO, f.1, op.71, spr.253, ark. 139

propaganda of the new outlining saying that provisions of the new Program of the CPSU contradicted his own worldview<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, the process of replacing the cult of Stalin with the cult of the Communist Party during the Khrushchev “thaw” had three periods: crisis transitional (up to March 5, 1953), main forming (March 5, 1953 – February 20, 1956) and renewal adaptive periods (February 20, 1956 – 1964). The first period was characterized by Stalin’s personality cult pressure and inferiority of the party that was considered to be a mediator between the “genius of humanity” and his nation. During the second period we marked the gradual taking off “Stalinist” garments by the CPSU when presenting it in the periodicals and in the speeches. There were the first attempts to transfer the attributes of Stalin to the image of the Communist Party. During the third period there was an active process of creating a party cult on the remnants of the cult of Joseph Stalin. It took over his functions and characteristics of a leader, a mastermind, a military victor, a teacher and an educator of generations. The CPSU became the new object to pledge one’s loyalty and fidelity in the official situations. The party received a right to act under the dogma of infallibility of its decisions with the legitimization of a new wave of purges. That was proclaimed as a right of self-cleaning from his enemies.

With each year, the amorphous and transcendent CPSU as a collective leader took up Stalin’s title of a coryphaeus of science, a successor of Lenin, and even his parental status among people. There occurred changes in the works of art with the replacement of Stalin’s name with the name of the party and the interpretation of the late dictator as the broadcaster of the will of the CPSU. However, it was in the last period that the outright opposition to the policy of the forming of the new cult of the party formation. It found the expression in the dissident movement during the “stagnation”. So, the revival period of the “thaw” will be the beginning of the crisis period for development of the cult of the Communist Party in the period of “stagnation”.

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<sup>1</sup> DAPO, f.P-251, op. 1, spr.4837, ark.1

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- spr. 1551. Informatsiyi, dopovidni zapysky, dovidky, zvity obkomu partiyi TsK KPRS [Information, memoranda, notes and reports of the Regional Committee to the Central committee of the CPSU] (19.01-8.12.1956).
- spr.1556. Dyrektyvni nakazy obkomu KPU 3.01-24.11.1956) [Legislative orders of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of 3.01-24.11.1956)]

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spr. 1632. Informatsiyi, dovidky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [Information, references of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (10.04.-10.11.1957).

spr. 1903. Zvity, informatsiyi, dovidky mis'kkomiv, raykomiv obkomu KPU [The reports, information, reference of the city committees, district committees to the Regional Committee of the CPU] (26.03-15.09.1960).

**f. P-19. Zhovtneva rayonna partiyna orhanizatsiya mista Poltavy [Zhovtnevyy district party organization of Poltava].**

**op. 1. Dokumenty [Documents] (1943-1963).**

spr. 230. Protokoly zasidan' byuro raykomu №24-25; №1-5 [Minutes of meetings of the Bureau of the District Committee #24-25; #1-5] (26.09-26.12.1956).

spr. 231. Protokoly partaktyviv zboriv №1-2 [Minutes party activists meetings #1-2] (25.01-12.03.1956).

spr.256. Protokoly partaktyvu «Pro sorokarichchya z dnya utvorennya KPU» (3.07.1958) [Protocols of the paratacuum “About forty anniversaries since the formation of the Communist Party of Ukraine” (3.07.1958)]

**f. P-121. Pervynni partiyni orhanizatsiyi Lenins'koho rayonu mista Poltavy [Primary Party organizations Leninsky district of Poltava].**

**op. 1.**

spr. 1420. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Lenins'koho viddilu UKDB mista Poltavy [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Leninskyy KGB department of city of Poltava]. (11.01-31.12.1956).

spr.1467. Pervichnaya partorganizatsiya 4-go otryada voyeniirovannoy okhrani yuzhnoy zheleznoy dorogi. Protokoly zasedaniy partbyuro, partsobraniy. Plany raboty poartbyuro, prikrepitel'nyye talony, kartochki uplaty chlenskikh vzosov (2 yanvarya – 6 dekabrya 1956 god) [The primary party organization of the 4th detachment of the war-torn southern railway guard. Minutes of meetings of the party bureau, party meetings. Plans for the work of the business bureau, attachment cards, membership fee cards (January 2 - December 6, 1956)]

**f. P-244. Partiyni orhanizatsiyi Kyyivs'koho rayonu mista Poltavy [Party organizations of the Kyivskyy district of city of Poltava]**

**op. 1.**

spr. 2337. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Kyyivs'koho rayonnoho komitetu mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of CPU of Kyivskyy District Committee. Protocols of party meetings] (16.01-26.12.1957).

spr. 2384. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Kyyivs'koho rayonnoho vykonavchoho komitetu mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Kyivskyy district executive committee of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (03.01-06.12.1957).

spr. 3925. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №2 robochoyi molodi [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #2 of the working young] (1.01-31.12 1956 rik).

spr. 3567. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho sil'skohospodars'koho instytutu. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava Agricultural Institute. Minutes of the party meetings] (8.01-14.12. 1957).

spr. 3901. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly desyatnykiv-budivel'nykiv mista Poltavy (sichen'-veresen' 1956 rik) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school of the foremen builders of Poltava (January-September 1956)].



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- spr. 3919. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №25 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (sichen'-hruden' 1956) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school #25 of the city of Poltava. Minutes of the party meetings (January-December 1956)].
- spr.3934. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi vos'myrichnoyi shkoly №7 mista Poltavy (1.10-31.12.1956 rik) [Primary party organization of the CPU of the middle eight-year school № 7 in the city of Poltava (1.10-31.12.1956)]
- spr. 3945. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №13 mista Poltavy (sichen'-hruden' 1956 rik) [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #13 of Poltava (January-December 1956)].
- spr. 4025. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №16 mista Poltavy [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the secondary school #16 of Poltava] (1956).
- spr. 4044. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №17 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of secondary school #17 city of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (7.01-19.12.1957).
- spr.4410. Pervichnaya partorganizatsiya KP Ukrainy tyurmi №1 mista Poltavi. Protokoly partbyuro, protokoly partsobraniy, plany raboty, prikrepitel'nyye talony, kartchka uchota uplaty chlenskikh vnosov (1956) [The primary party organization of the Ukrainian Communist Party is the Türmi No. 1 city of Poltava. Protocols of the party bureau, minutes of the party meetings, work plans, attachment cards, membership cards]
- spr. 4460. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU narodnykh sudiv ta yurkonsul'tatsiy Kyivys'koho rayonu mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the people's courts and juridicila consultation of Kyivskyy district of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (04.01-17.12.1957).
- spr.4489. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU hravimetrychnoyi observatoriyi mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (19.01-27.12.1956) [Primary party organization of the KPU gravimetric observatory in the city of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings (19.01-27.12.1956)]
- spr.4490. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU hravimetrychnoyi observatoriyi mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava gravimetric observatory. Protocols of party meetings] (28.01-31.12.1957).
- spr.4549. Pervynna partorhanyzatsiya KP Ukrainy Derzhavnoho muzeyu istoriyi Poltavs'koyi bytvy. (1956 rik) [the primary party organization of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the State Museum of History of the Poltava Battle (1956)]
- spr.4550. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Derzhavnoho muzeyu istoriyi Poltavs'koyi bytvy [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the State Museum of History of the Battle of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings] (1957).
- spr.4603. Pervichnaya partorganizatsiya KP Ukrainy redaktsiï «Zori Poltavshchini». Protokoly partbyuro, protokoly partsobraniy, plany raboty, prikrepitel'nyye talony, kartchka uchota uplaty chlenskikh vnosov (27.01-29.12.1956 god) [Primary Party organization of the CP of Ukraine of the Zorya Poltavshchyny. Minutes of the party bureau, minutes of the party meetings, work plans, affidavits, membership cards (27.01-29.12.1956)]
- spr. 4604. Pervynna partorhanizatsiyi KPU redaktsiyi “Zori Poltavshchyny” [The primary Party organization of the CPU of of the editorial board of “Zorya Poltavshchyny”] (01.02-22.12.1957).

**f. P-251. Partiyni orhanizatsiyi Zhovtnevoho rayonu mista Poltavy [Party organizations Zhovtnevy district of Poltava].**

**op. 1.**

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- spr. 4824. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (15.01 - 10.12.1953).
- spr. 4825. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (10.11 - 17 .121953).
- spr. 4826. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (5.01 - 16.12.1954).
- spr. 4829. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (19.01 - 20.12.1956).
- spr. 4830. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (11.01-19.12.1957).
- spr. 4832. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (22.01 – 25.12.1959).
- spr. 4833. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (21 .01 -26 .121960).
- spr. 4834. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (17.01-27.12.1961).
- spr. 4836. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (24 .01 -19 .121962).
- spr. 4837. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute. Primary party organization. Minutes of the party meetings] (16 .01 -24 .121964).
- spr.4911. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Instytutu inzheneriv sil's'kohospodars'koho budivnytstva mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (12.01-29.12.1956) [Primary party organization of the CPU of the Institute of Agricultural Engineering Engineers of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings (12.01-29.12.1956)]
- spr.5108. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU muzychnoho uchylshcha mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (21.01.-22.12.1956) [Primary party organization of the KPU of the Musical College of Poltava. Protocols of party meetings (21.01.-22.12.1956)]
- spr. 5191. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho oblVNO [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava regional education department] (26.01-29.11.1956).
- spr. 5235. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU mis'koho viddilu narodnoyi osvity mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava city public education department. Minutes of the party meetings] (17.01-17.08.1961).
- spr. 5248. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №3 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #3. Minutes of the party meetings] (2.01-27.12.1957).

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- spr. 5267. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №4 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #4. Minutes of the party meetings] (3.01-4.12.1955).
- spr. 5268. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №4 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #4. Minutes of the party meetings] (3.01-14.12.1956).
- spr. 5277. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU seredn'oyi shkoly №6 mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of Poltava school #6. Minutes of the party meetings] (2.01-16.11.1957).
- spr. 5649. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koho oblasnoho upravlinnya kul'tury. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Poltava Regional Department of Culture. Protocols of party meetings] (1.01-31.12.1957).
- spr. 5703. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Upravlinnya okhorony viys'kovykh i derzhavnykh tayemnyts' u drutsi. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the Department of the Communist Party of military and state secrets in print. Protocols of party meetings] (02.01-12.12.1957).
- spr.5836. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU tetaru imeni M.V. Hoholya. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv (25.01-28.12.1956) [The primary party organization of the CPU is the theater named after MV. Gogol Protocols of party meetings (25.01.28.12.1956)]
- spr. 5883. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Poltavs'koyi oblasnoyi biblioteky. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Poltava Regional Library. Protocols of party meetings] (17.01-27.12.1956).
- spr. 5942. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Oblassnoho komitetu radio ta informatsiyi. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Regional Committee of the radio media Protocols of party meetings] (20.01-16.07.53).
- spr. 6006. Pervynna partorhanizatsiya KPU Obltyporafiyi mista Poltavy. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The primary Party organization of the CPU of the Regional Printing house. Protocols of party meetings] (24.01-19.12.1957).

**R-1507. Poltavs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni V. H. Korolenka Ministerstva osvity  
URSР m. Poltava [Poltava State Pedagogical Institute named after V. G. Korolenko of the  
Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR, the city of Poltava].**

**op. 1. Dokumenty za 1939-1969 roky [Documents for 1939-1969].**

- spr. 371. Postanovy prezydiyi Poltavs'koho obkomu profspilky PPSSh, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Decisions of the Presidium of the Poltava regional committee of trade union of the workers of primary and secondary schools that relate to the activities of the Institute] (24.02-23.12.1953).
- spr.382. Protokoly zasidannya kafedry ukrayins'koho movoznavstva (31.05.1952 – 14.04.1953) [Protocols of the session of the Department of Ukrainian Linguistics (31.05.1952 - 14.04.1953)]
- spr.383. Protokoly zasidannya kafedry ukrayins'koho literatury (29.08.1952 – 25.06.1953) [Protocols of the session of the Department of Ukrainian Literature (August 29, 1952 - June 25, 1953)]
- spr. 392. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady instytutu [Minutes of the Academic Council of the Institute] (30.09.1952 – 31.08.1953).
- spr.394. Stenohramy lektsiy-za 1953 rik [Transcripts of lectures for 1953]
- spr. 395. Zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv ta kafedr za 1952-1953 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of faculties and departments for the 1952-1953 academic year].

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- spr. 424. Dovidka pro stan roboty kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu v pershomu pivrichchi 1953-1954 navchal'noho roku za stanom na 10 hrudnya [Information on the status of the department of Marxism-Leninism in the first half of 1953-1954 academic year as of December 10].
- spr. 432. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1954 rik [Transcripts of lectures in 1954].
- spr.434. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi literatury (1.09.1953 – 15.05.1954) [Minutes of the sessions of the Department of Ukrainian Literature (1.09.1953 - May 15, 1954)]
- spr. 440. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (24.09.1953 – 30.08.1954).
- spr. 493. Zvity pro robotu kafedr ta fakul'tetiv instytutu za 1954-1955 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of departments and faculties of the Institute for the 1954-1955 academic year].
- spr. 498. Rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSSR 1955 roku, yaki vidnosyat'sya do diyal'nosti instytutu [Order of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR in 1955, which relate to the activities of the Institute].
- spr. 517. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Order of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR in 1955, which relate to the activities of the Institute] (5.02.1956 – 29.11.1956).
- spr.534. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi literatury (28.08.1955-29.06.1956) [Minutes of the sessions of the Department of Ukrainian Literature (28.08.1955-29.06.1956)]
- spr. 541. Protokoly zasidan' kafedr [Minutes of meetings of sub-departments] (31.08.1955-28.06.1956).
- spr. 542. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (1.11.1955-29.11.1956).
- spr. 548. Zvity pro robotu kafedr za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of sub-departments for 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 553. Zvit pro robotu kafedr ta fakul'tetiv instytutu za 1955-1956 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of the sub-departments and faculties of the Institute for the 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr.554. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1956 navchal'nyy rik. T.1. [Transcripts of lectures for the 1956 school year. Vol.1.]
- spr. 555. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1956 rik. T.2 [Transcripts of lectures in 1956. Vol.2].
- spr. 570. Nakazy ta rozporyadzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (4.01.1957-31.12.1957).
- spr. 588. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (18.01.1957-27.12.1957).
- spr. 593. Zvit pro robotu fakul'tetiv za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the faculty work for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr.594. Zvit pro robotu kafedr instytutu za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of the departments of the Institute for 1956-1957 academic year]
- spr. 595. Zvit pro zv'yazok kafedr instytutu z shkolamy ta dopomohu vchytelyam za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Report about the connection of the sub-departments with schools and assisting teachers for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 598. Stenohramy lektsiy [Transcripts of lectures] (1957).
- spr. 599. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1957 rik. T.2. [Transcripts of lectures in 1957. Vol.2].
- spr. 602. Zvit pro robotu zaochnoho viddilu za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Report on the work of the correspondence department for academic year 1956-1957].
- spr. 609. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR related to the activities of the Institute] (31.01-10.12.1958).

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- spr.615. Prohrama yuvileynoyi sesiyi instytutu, prysvyachenoyi 40-richchyu Rayans'koyi vlday na Ukraini 1958 roku [The program of the jubilee session of the Institute, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Raian Waldy in Ukraine in 1958]
- spr. 620. Stenohramy lektsiy za 1958 rik [Transcripts of lectures in 1958].
- spr. 630. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (24.01.1958-29.12.1958).
- spr. 639. Zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv ta kafedr za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of faculties and departments for the 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 655. Nakazy ta rozporядzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (21.03-23.12.1959).
- spr. 666. Dovidka pro perebudovu roboty instytutu u svitli Zakonu pro zmitsnennya zv"yazku shkoly z zhyt'tyam i dal'shyy rozvytok systemy narodnoyi osvity v SRSR, 1959 rik [Information on the restructuring of the Institute work in the light of the law on strengthening ties of school with life and further development of public education in the USSR].
- spr. 673. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi movy [Minutes of meetings of Ukrainian language sub-department] (25.08.1958-3.06.1959).
- spr. 680. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of the Academic Council] (14.07.1958 – 20.08.1958).
- spr. 681. Stenohramy lektsiy 1959 roku [Transcripts of lectures in 1959].
- spr. 699. Nakazy ta rozporядzhennya Ministerstva osvity, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education concerning the activities of the Institute] (5.03.-20.12.1960).
- spr. 700. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady [Minutes of the Academic Council] (31.08.1959-08.07.1960).
- spr.719. Informatsiya Poltavs'koho pedahohichnoho instytutu pro provedeni zakhody po oznamenuvannya 90-richchya z dnya narodzhennya V. I. Lenina, 1960 rik [Information of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute about the measures taken to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of VI Lenin, 1960]
- spr. 729. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1959-1960 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism for the 1959-1960 academic year] (28.08.1959 – 30.06.1960).
- spr. 741. Stenohramy lektsiy . T.1. [Transcripts of lectures. Vol.1.] (1959-1960).
- spr.742. Stenohramy lektsiy. T.2. 1959-1960 roky [Transcripts of lectures. Vol.2. 1959-1960]
- spr. 750. Nakazy ta rozporядzhennya Ministerstva osvity URSR, yaki stosuyut'sya diyal'nosti instytutu [Orders and prescriptions of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR concerning the activities of the Institute] (12.01.1961-27.01.1961).
- spr. 756. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of the Academic Council] (06.09.1960-29.08.1961).
- spr. 761. Protokoly zasidan' kafedr za 1960-1961 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-departments for the 1960-1961 academic year].
- spr. 778. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1960-1961 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism for the 1960-1961 academic year] (31.08.1960-27.06.1961).
- spr. 805. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of the Academic Council] (26.09.1961 – 16.07.1962).

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- spr.809. Informatsiya pro pro provedenu robotu po vyvchennyu i propahandi rishen' v materialiv XXII z"yizdu KPRS1962 roku [Information about the work carried out on the study and advocacy of decisions in the materials of the XXII Congress of the CPSU in 1962]
- spr.810. Informatsiya pro stan vykladannya materialiv XXII z"yizdu KPRS v shkolakh oblasti 1962 roku [Information on the state of teaching materials of the XXII Congress of the CPSU in the schools of the region in 1962]
- spr. 819. Zvity pro robotu kafedr Poltavs'koho pedinstytutu v 1961-1962 navchal'nomu rotsi [Reports on the work of the departments of Poltava Pedagogical Institute in 1961-1962 academic year].
- spr. 822. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu za 1961-1962 navchal'nyy rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism for the 1961-1962 academic year].
- spr. 824. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry istoriyi [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of History] (29.08.1961 – 19.06.1962).
- spr. 847. Protokoly zasidan' Vchenoyi rady instytutu [] (30.08.1962 – 30.09.1963).
- spr. 858. Zvit pro robotu kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu PDPI pro robotu na zaochnomu viddili ta zahal'nonaukovomu fakul'teti v 1962-1963 navchal'nomu rotsi [Report on the work of sub-department of Marxism-Leninism of Poltava SPI about the work on the correspondence department and general scientific faculty in the 1962-1963 academic year].
- spr.865. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu (29.08.1962-26.06.1963) [Protocols of the sessions of the Department of Marxism-Leninism (29.08.1962-26.06.1963)]
- spr.866. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry istoriyi (29.08.1962-4.06.1963) [Minutes of the sessions of the Department of History (August 29, 1962, June 4, 1963)]
- spr. 925. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry istoriyi. Tom 1 [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of History. Vol. 1] (28.08.1963-14.01.1964).
- spr. 926. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry istoriyi. Tom 2 [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of History. Vol. 2] (6.02-16.06.1964).
- spr. 927. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi movy [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of the Ukrainian language] (20.09.1963-28.15.1964).

**f. R-6829. Poltavs'keoblasnetovarystvopoposhyrennyunaukovohotapolitychnohoznannya [Poltava Oblast Society for dissemination of political and scientific knowledge].**

**op. 1.**

- spr. 25. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. Tom 1 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Volume 1] (8.01-21.05.1953).
- spr. 26. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. Tom 2 [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Volume 2] (30.06-29.09.1953).
- spr.27. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya. Tom 3. (26.10.-30.12.1953) Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board. Volume 2] (26.10.-30.12.1953).
- spr.29. Materialy druhoyi oblasnoyi konferentsiyi (10.10.1953) [Materials of the second regional conference (10.10.1953)]
- spr. 30. Stenohramy druhoyi oblasnoyi konferentsiyi [Transcripts of the Second Regional Conference] (10.10.1953).
- spr. 39. Protokoly oblasnoyi narady holiv pravlinnya rayonnykh, mis'kykh viddilen' tovarystva [Minutes of the regional meeting of heads of district and city departments] (15.01-22.10.1954).
- spr.47. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya tovarystva. Tom 3 (30.08-26.11.1955) [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium of the Board of the Society. Volume 3 (30.08-26.11.1955)]
- spr. 48. Protokoly plenumiv pravlinnya [Minutes of plenum of the Presidium Board] (16.03-18.12.1955).

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- spr. 51. Rozporyadzhennya ta dyrektyvni nakazy rayonnym viddilennyam tovarystva [Instruction and directive orders to the district offices of the society] (15.01-30.12.1955).
- spr. 66. Protokoly zasidan' prezydiyi pravlinnya [Minutes of meetings of the Presidium Board] (16.01.-24.04.1957).
- spr. 123. Lystuvannya oblasnoho viddilennya Tovarystva z inshymy orhanizatsiyamy [Correspondence of the regional branch of the Society with other organizations] (3.01-22.12.1960).

**Derzhavnyy arkhiv Sums'koyi oblasti (DASO)**

**f. R-2817. Sums'ky derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni A. S.Makarenka [Sumy State Pedagogical Institute named after Makarenko]**

**op. 3. Dokumenty ta materialy za 1944-1978 roky [Documents and materials on 1944-1978 years]**

- spr. 129. Propozytsiyi pro podal'shyy rozvytok vyshchoyi shkoly u noviy p'yatyrichtsi (1953) [Proposals for the further development of higher education in the new five-year plan (1953)]
- spr. 130. Retsenziiyi vykladachiv Sums'koho pedinstytutu na nadislani lektsiyi ta konspekty lektsiy vykladachiv instytutiv ta retsenziiyi na nykh za 1953 rik [Reviews of Sumy Pedagogical Institute lecturers and lectures and lecture notes sent to the lecturers for reviews in 1953] (16.01.-22.12.1953).
- spr. 131. Plan naukovo-doslidnoyi roboty po Sums'komu pedahohichnomu instytutu za 1953 rik [The plan of research work at the Sumy Pedagogical Institute for 1953]
- spr. 139. Zvity pro navchal'nu robotu instytutu za 1953-1954 roky [Reports on the educational work of the Institute for 1953-1954]
- spr. 140. Zvit pro naukovo-doslidnu robotu za 1953 rik [Scientific research report for 1953]
- spr. 153. Plany naukovo-doslidnoyi roboty vykladachiv instytutu za 1954 ri [Plans of research work of teachers of the Institute for 1954]
175. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (21.03.1955-4.06.1956).
- spr. 200. Svodnyy otchot o nauchno-issledovatel'skoy rabote za 1955 god [The summary report on scientific research work for 1955]
- spr. 205. Zauvazhennya do prohram dlya pidhotovky uchyteliv seredn'oyi shkoly za 1956 rik [Notes on programs for the preparation of secondary school teachers for 1956]
- spr.222. Materialy naukovoyi sesiyi instytutu za 1955 [Materials of the scientific session of the Institute for 1955]
- spr. 225. Protokoly zasidan' uchenoyi rady [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (10.09.1957-24.07.1958).
- spr. 252. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (29.08.1958-26.06.1959).
- spr. 256. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu (20.08.1958-12.05.1959) [Protocols of the sessions of the Department of Marxism-Leninism (20.08.1958-12.05.1959)]
- spr. 269. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSo URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1958 rik [Directives of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR on the work of the schools of 1958]
- spr. 273. Richnyy zvit pro robotu instytutu za 1959-1960 [Annual report on the Institute's work for 1959-1960]
- spr. 284. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (31.08.1959-8.04.1960).

– MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF DE-STALINIZATION –

- spr. 290. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO pro robotu pedvuziv za 1959 rik [Directives of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and the MHE about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1959]
- spr. 307. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO pro robotu pedvuziv za 1960 rik [Directives of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and the MHE about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1960]
- spr. 312. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO pro robotu pedvuziv za 1961 rik [Directives of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and the MHE about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1961]
- spr. 338. Zbirnyk naukovo-metodychnykh robit studentiv istoriko-filolohichnoho fakul'tetu [Collection of scientific and methodological works of students of the Faculty of History and Philology]
- spr. 407. Zvit pro naukovo-doslidnu robotu kafedr instytutu za 1962 rik [Report on the scientific research work of the sub-departments of the Institute in 1962].

**f. R-5369. Hlukhivs'kyi derzhavnyy uchytel's'kyi instytutimeni S. M. Serhyeyeva-Tsens'koho Ministerstva Osvity Ukrayins'koyi RSR [Hlukhiv State Pedagogical Institute named after S. M. Sergeyev-Tsensky of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR]**

**op. 1. Dokumenty i materialy za 1943-1988 roky [Documents and materials for 1943-1988 years]**

- spr. 158. Zvedennyi zvit pro naukovo-doslidnu robotu za 1953 rik [Summary report on the research work in 1953].
- spr. 163. Protokoly zasidan' rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (19.09.53-5.07.54).
- spr. 164. Protokoly zasidan' kafedr [The minutes of meetings of the sub-departments] (25.08.53 – 25.05.54).
- spr. 166. Tematychni plany naukovoyi roboty na 1953 rik [Thematic plans of research work for 1953]
- spr. 169. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1953 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher and secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1953] (15.01 – 30.12.1953).
- spr. 175. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry ukrayins'koyi movy za 1955-1956 rik [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of the Ukrainian language in 1955-1956].
- spr. 180. Richni zvity pro robotu kafedr za 1954-1955 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the sub-departments for the 1954-1955 academic year].
- spr. 196. Spysky vyluchenoyi literatury [Lists of the seized literature] (24.02.1954).
- spr. 198. Lystuvannya dyrektora z osnovnykh pytan' diyal'nosti instytutu [Correspondence of the director on the main issues of the institute] (10.02. – 11.11.1954).
- spr. 203. Richnyy zvit pro robotu kafedr za 1955-1956 rik [Annual report on the work of the departments for 1955-1956]
- spr. 205. Protokoly zasidan' uchenoyi rady instytutu [The minutes of meetings of the Academic Council of the Institute] (27.09.55-25.06.56).
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- spr. 224. Richnyy zvit pro robotu instytutu za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the institute for the 1956-1957 academic year].



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- spr. 232. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1956 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher aned secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1956] (05.01 – 30.12.1953).
- spr. 237. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1956 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher aned secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1956] (17.01 – 13.12.1953).
- spr. 239. Perepiska direktora po osnovnym voprosam deyatel'nosti instituta za 1953 god (2.02. – 26.12.1953) [Correspondence of the Director on the main issues of the Institute in 1953 (2.02. - 26.12.1953)]
- spr. 241. Svodnyy otchot o nauchno-issledovatel'skoy rabote za 1957 god [Summary report on scientific research work for 1957]
- spr. 254. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1957 rik [Directive letters of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher aned secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1957].
- spr. 263. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1958 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher aned secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1958] (16.01-20.12.1958).
- spr. 284. Nakazy Ministerstva osvity URSR ta Ministerstva VSSO URSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1959 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher aned secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1959] (07.01-30.12.1959).
- spr. 290. Dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSR ta Ministerstva VSSO pro robotu pedvuziv za 1959 rik (2.01-25.12.1959) [Directives of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR and the MHE on the work of the schools of 1959 (December 2, 25-25, 1959)]
- spr. 292. Spysky vyluchenoyi literatury [Lists if the seized literature] (12.02-10.07.1959).
- spr. 312. Nakazy ta dyrektyvy Ministerstva osvity URSR ta Ministerstva vyshchoyi ta seredn'oyi spetsial'noyi osvity SRSR pro robotu pedvuziv za 1961 rik [Orders of the Ministry of Education of the UkrSSR and Ministry of higher aned secondary special education about the work of pedagogical institutes in 1961] (7.03-26.12.1961).
- spr. 313. Tematicheskiye plany nauchno-issledovatel'skoy raboty na 1961 god [Thematic plans for the research work for 1961]
- spr.322. Richnyy zvit pro robotu kafedr instytutu za 1961-1962 navchal'nyy rik [Annual report on the work of the departments of the Institute for the 1961-1962 academic year]
- spr. 323. Richnyy zvit pro robotu biblioteky za 1961-1962 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the library for the 1961-1952 academic year].
- spr. 347. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (30.09.62-22.06.63).
- spr. 357. Richnyy plan roboty instytutu na 1963-1964 navchal'nyy rik [Annual work plan of the Institute for the academic year 1963-1964]
- spr. 358. Richnyy zvit pro robotu kafedr instytutu za 1963-1964 [Annual report on the work of the departments of the Institute for 1963-1964]
- spr. 359. Zvedennyi zvit pro NDR za 1963 rik [Summary report on research work in 1963], 25 ark.
- spr. 364. Richnyy zvit pro robotu biblioteky za 1963-1964 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the library for the 1963-1954 academic year].
- spr. 380. Richnyy zvit pro robotu instytutu za 1964-1965 navchal'nyy rik [Annual reports on the work of the institute for the 1964-1965 academic year].

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- spr. 385. Richnyy zvit pro robotu kafedr instytutu za 1964-1965 rik [Annual reports on the work of the sub-departments for the 1964-1955 academic year].
- spr. 389. Protokoly zasidan' kafedry marksyzmu-leninizmu [The minutes of the meetings of the sub-department of Marxism-Leninism] (30.08.64-21.06.65).

**Derzhavnyy arkhiv Kharkivs'koyi oblasti (DAKhO)**

**f. R-1780. Kharkivs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut inozemnykh mov imeni N. K. Krups'koyi [Kharkiv State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages named after N. K. Krupskaya]**

**op. 3. Dokumenty i materialy za 1941-1960 roky [Documents and materials for 1941-1960 years]**

- spr. 461. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady za I semester 1955-1956 navchal'noho roku [Minutes of meetings of Academic council for the first semester of 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 495. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady za II semester 1956-1957 navchal'noho roku [Minutes of meetings of Academic council for the second semester of 1955-1956 academic year].
- spr. 526. Protokoly zasidan' Uchenoyi rady instytutu za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Minutes of meetings of Academic council for 1957-1958 academic year].

**f. R-4293. Kharkivs'kyy derzhavnyy pedahohichnyy instytut imeni H. S. Skovorody [Kharkiv State Pedagogical Institute named after Hryhoriy Skovoroda]**

**op.2. Dokumenty i materialy za 1953-1964 rr. [Documents and materials for the 1953-1964]**

- spr. 681. Stenohrama leksiyyi vykladacha tovarysha Ostrovs'koho "Vnutrishnye stanovyshche ta dyrektyvy XX z'yizdu KPRS po shostomu p'yatyrichnomu planu rozvytku narodnoho hospodarstva SRSRU 1956-1960 rr". [Transcript of the lectures of the teacher comrade Ostrovskyy "Internal situation and directives of the Twentieth Party Congress in the sixth five-year development plan of the USSR in 1956-1960] (5.05.1956).
- spr.684. Zvit pro robotu KhDPI imeni H. S. Skovorody za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of Kharkiv SPI named after Hryhoriy Skovoroda in 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr.685. Zvity kafedr KhDPI za 1956-1957 navchal'nyy rik [Reports of the sub-departments of Kharkiv SPI for the 1956-1957 academic year].
- spr. 686. Zvit pro vyvchennya roboty kafedry suspil'nykh naukz 27.11 po 7.12.1956 roku chlenamy komisiyyi Ministerstva osvity URSR [The report on the study of the work of sthe sub-department of Social Sciences from 27.11 to 07.12.1956 by the members of the commission of the Ministry of Education of the USSR].
- spr. 696. Protokoly Vchenoyi Rady instytutu [Minutes of meetings of Academic council of the institute] (1956).
- spr. 740. Zvit pro robotu KhDPI imeni H. S. Skovorody za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of Kharkiv SPI named after Hryhoriy Skovoroda in 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 741. Richni zvity pro robotu fakul'tetiv ta kafedr za 1957-1958 navchal'nyy rik [Reports on the work of faculties and sub-departments in 1957-1958 academic year].
- spr. 755. Protokoly Uchenoyi rady za 1957 rik [Minutes of meetings of Academic council in 1957].
- spr.1029. Dovidka pro robotu kafedry istoriyyi KPRS za 1962-1963 rik [Reference on the work of the Department of History of the CPSU for 1962-1963]

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**Derzhavnyy arkhiv Cherkas'koyi oblasti (DACHO)**

**f. P-2087. Pervynna partiyna orhanizatsiya Umans'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho instytutu imeni P. H. Tychyny [The primary party organization of Uman State Pedagogical Institute named after P. H. Tychyna]**

**op. 1. Dokumenty i materialy za 1944-1991 roky [Documents and materials for 1944-1991]**

spr. 26. Protokoly partzboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (17.01-24.12.1964).

**f. P-2187. Pervynna partiyna orhanizatsiya Cherkas'koho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho instytutu imeni 300-richchya vozz'yednannya Ukrayiny z Rosiyeyu [The primary party organization Uman State Pedagogical Institute named after P. H. Tychyna]**

**op. 1. Dokumenty i materialy za 1944-1991 roky [Documents and materials for 1944-1991]**

spr. 15. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (7.01-20.12.1953).

spr. 16. Protokoly zasidan' partbyuro [The minutes of the party bureau] (13.01-29.12.1953).

spr. 21. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (24.01-27.11.1956).

spr. 23. Protokoly partiynykh zboriv [The minutes of party meetings] (8.01-1.12.1957).

**Arkhiv Poltavs'koho natsional'noho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni V. H. Korolenka APNPU**

**f. 1. Osobovi spravy studentiv (z/v) [Personal cases of students (correspondent department)]**

**op. 1956 (B-I)**

spr. 2289. Butko Fedir Ilkiv (1951-1956).

**op.1956 (L-P)**

spr.2242. Parkhomenko Hryhoriy Nazarovych (1951-1956 pp.), ark.22.

spr.2266. Nektovenko Hryhoriy Fedorovych (1951-1956 pp.)

**op. 1956 (Ros. Viddil [Russian language department]) (A-H)**

spr. 2147. Bandur Kateryna Vasylivna (1951-1956).

spr.2158. Hrachova Natalka Andriyivna (1951-1956).

**op. 1956 (Ros. Viddil [Russian language department]) (S-Sh)**

spr.2214. Shvachko Roza Antonivna (1951-1956)

**op.1956 (Ros. viddil) (Z.K.S.)**

spr. Kyryanenko Lyudmyla Fedorivna

**op. 1956 (Ukr. Viddil [Ukrainian language department]) (K-M),**

spr. 2085. Kol'chuk Dariya Pavlivna (1951-1956).

spr.2088. Kondratenko Vasyl' Kyrylovych (1951-1956)

**op. 1961 (Ist. Viddil [History department]) (A-B)**

spr. Avramenko Ol'ha Oleksiyivna.

**op.1964 (Ist. Viddil [History department]) (A-V)**

spr. Budnyk Yevdokiya Maksymivna.

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**f. 2. Osobovi spravy spivrobotnykiv ta profesors'ko-vykladats'koho skladu [Personal cases of the staff and faculty]**

**op. B**

spr. Berezovs'kyi Vasyl' Pavlovych

**op. E, Zh, Z**

spr. Eliokums Zynoviy Saulovych.

**op. K**

spr. Karyshyn Andriy Potapovych

**op. K-2**

spr. Kozyn Ivan Andriyovych.

op. K-4

spr. Kulyk Hryhoriy Ivanovych

**op. L**

spr. Lozovs'kyi Borys Yosypovych (1950-1956).

**op. M-2**

spr. Mudrachenko Petro Dementiyovych

**op. P-19.**

spr. Pidipryhorshchuk Yakiv Volodymyrovych, ark.13.

**op. S-2**

spr. Stepanov Dmytro Vasyl'ovych.

op. T

Tereshchenko Ivan Ivanovych

op. 2002

Bazylevych Neonila Havrylivna

**f. 3 Nakazy dyrektora po instytutu [Orders of the director of the institute]**

**op. 1**

spr. Nakazy. T.1 [Orders. Volume 1] (4.01-30.06.1960).

**INTERVIEWS**

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Herashchenko Lyudmyla Oleksiyivna Interviewed by author, Poltava, Ukraine, September 29, 2007.

Holovanenko Oleksandr Makarovych. Interviewed by author, Sumy, Ukraine, April 4, 2010.

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**1954.**

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№04. Yanvar 1954 goda. (Director: Lyanos K., 1954).  
№08. Yanvar 1954 goda. (Director: Repnikov S., 1954).  
№10. Fevral 1954 goda. (Director: Kiselyov F., 1954).  
№12. Fevral 1954 goda. (Director: Genina I.,1954)  
№13. Mart 1954 goda. (Director: Poselskiy I., 1954).  
№17. Mart 1954 goda. (Director: Rybakova A., 1954).  
№18. Mart 1954 goda. ( Directed by Syetkina I.,1954)  
№20. Aprel' 1954 goda. (Directed by Tulub'yeva Z.,1954)  
№23. Aprel' 1954 goda. (Directed by Kísel'ov F.,1954)  
№26. May 1954 goda. (Director: Derbisheva L., 1954).  
№27. May 1954 goda. (Directed by Venzher Í.,1954)  
№28. May 1954 goda. (Directed by Kopalín Í.,1954)  
№31. May 1954 goda. (Directed by Vertova K.,1954)  
№32. Iyun' 1954 goda. (Directed by Venzher Í.,1954)  
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**1955.**

- №41. Iyul 1955 goda. (Director: Solovyova N.,1955)

**1956.**

- №6. Fevral 1956 goda. (Director: Kristi L.,1956)  
№50. Yanvar' 1956 goda. (Director: Babushkin Ya.,1956).

**1957.**

№05. Yanvar 1957 goda. (Director: Venzher I., 1954).

№11. Mart 1957 goda. (Director: Solovyova N.,1957)

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<sup>1</sup> Such names as Ukraine, the UkrSSR, and Poltava SPI are not listed as the most commonly used in work. In most cases the name of the city means the pedagogical institute located in it

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